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EDITORIAL

"BEHOLD THE LAMB OF GOD!"

An exile for Christ, who has labored long among Mohammedans and poured out her soul for them, writes from her lonely post in Central Asia: "We are learning here to put first things first and steer cautiously but persistently to our *one* aim. And I think we must do so in silence as to the outer world in order to be able to do something in this our inner world into which the Lord has placed us. We now have the freedom to witness for Christ, but it may any moment be taken from us, and so we must be careful to use it aright." May we not ask, at the opening of a critical New Year, what is that *one* aim in missions? What is our distinctive, supreme, impelling message to the world of Islam? Is it not expressed in the words of John the Baptist, that harbinger of a new dispensation to Israel—the Israel with which Islam has so much in common? That voice crying in the wilderness had one message: "Behold the Lamb of God." John's freedom to witness for Christ was soon taken from him. Herod's cruel sword did its work; but while John had freedom, he put first things first. It was the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar; Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea; Herod ruled Galilee; Philip and Lysias had their tetrarchies; Annas and Caiaphas controlled the temple worship and the daily sacrifice. The Roman world was in revolution. There were many sects and parties and philosophies,

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but they held out no living hope. Therefore the word of God came to John in the desert, and what he heard he cried: "Behold the Lamb of God."

The gospel for the Moslem world also, is contained in that one short sentence, for the Cross of Christ is the missing link in the Moslem creed. The death of Christ, its necessity, its historicity, its implications, its results, its pathos and its power—these things are hidden from the wise and prudent in the world of Islam, but God reveals them unto babes. When the inquirer comes to the Cross and sees the Crucified, he finds an answer to all his difficulties. Mysticism in Islam at its best always failed to reveal the mystery of the Cross. This is the tragedy of a soul's pilgrimage, ever pressing on without reaching the goal. Ghazali, Sha'arani, Jalal-ud-din-ar Rumi, Ibn-al-Arabi and many other seekers after God travelled a long and steep way. Their teaching on sin and repentance, forgiveness and the vision of God contains much that may be used as a preparation for the Gospel, but it never rises to Calvary. Here the Prodigal Son of Arabia utterly missed the road—and in consequence led many astray. Nevertheless the Koran and the life of the Prophet still offer many points of contact for those who would preach the message of repentance and remission of sin through the Blood. Is not the principal feast of Islam one of sacrifice? Then, not only at Mecca, by ten thousands of pilgrims, but in every village from Tangier to Teheran victims are slain and the prayer for pardon offered. Many significant traditions are found in Bukhari and in the standard Koran commentaries regarding the origin and purpose of this annual sacrifice, all of which point directly or indirectly to substitution and atonement.

Trumbull in his book, "The Blood Covenant," gives an excellent summary of early Semitic teaching and custom to prove that for them "without the shedding of blood there was no remission of guilt and no peace of reconciliation."

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If one could penetrate into this realm of Semitic psychology, collate all that is found in Islam on the subject and interpret it by the New Testament in a winning way, what an apologetic we would have!

The same method was used to win the Jews by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. To take one example: We read in Bukhari that Mohammed made the *'Aqiqa* sacrifice not only for his two grandsons Hasan and Husain but for himself. *'Aqqa 'an nafsihi.* The prayer used today in this propitiating sacrifice of lamb or kid presented for the seven-day old child reads:

"O God, this is the 'Aqiqa sacrifice of my son so-and-so; its blood for his blood, its flesh for his flesh, its bone for his bone, its skin for his skin, its hair for his hair. O God! make it a redemption for my son from the Fire, for truly I have turned my face to Him who created the heavens and the earth, a true believer. And I am not of those who associate partners with God. Truly my prayer and my offering my life and my death is to God, the Lord of the worlds, who has no partner, and thus I am commanded, and I belong to the Moslems." [1]

What an opportunity such a family festival affords to point to Jesus as John did, and say, "Behold the Lamb of God." We cannot, however, win others to see what God did in Christ on the Cross and is doing through the preaching of the Cross until we have seen Him there ourselves. Our message must be based on experience. Islam's constant denial of our Lord's death on the Cross should constantly drive us back to Paul's words, "I am crucified with Christ." There is no apologetic so strong as experience. When we are determined to know nothing and preach nothing but the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which we are crucified to the Moslem world, and the Moslem world to us, and to glory in nothing else, everything falls in its proper place. Hospitals, day-schools, colleges, universities, the mission press and the mission pulpit are then no longer in search of new methods or anxious for new experiment, because they have the new Life. This Life cannot be hid. It is the highest

1 Cf. Chapter V in Zwemer's "The Influence of Animism on Islam."

dynamic. An institution that lives by this Life cannot die. Our danger is that we say, "Behold the new opportunity, behold our new methods," and forget to cry, "Behold the Lamb of God." Because the Cross is an offence to the Moslem mind it must never become an offence to us.

At the Jerusalem Conference we persuaded each other and our constituencies that, "The shattering impact of the war, the rise of clamant nationalism and race movements, cutting across Pan-Islamic policy, the Bolshevik ferment, the Caliphate agitation, the increased government of Islamic peoples by European powers, the critical debate on the civilization of Christendom, the eastward spread of European scepticism, the rebellion against traditionalism and external authority, the hunger for knowledge of new scientific thought and invention, the canvassing of the status of Oriental womanhood and some strong reactionary movements—are all factors in producing a profound and widespread change that can be described soberly and with precision as epoch-making." This is true. When John came preaching repentance, the fullness of time was also at hand. Revolutionary changes were taking place in the whole Roman Empire and in the Jewish Church. There had been much preparation. There was great expectancy. There was deep despair of the old order. But John ushered in the new epoch by proclaiming a new Redemption: "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world."

It is a redemption of the old order that we desire, but it must be redemption by the Blood. Many hidden disciples have already accepted this great central message of the Gospel. There is much in Christianity, as Islam has seen it, and more in Christendom, of which we feel ashamed. But we need never be ashamed of the Cross. It is eternal, universal and transcendent.

A bold French artist, borrowing his theme from an earlier Abyssinian picture, has recently depicted something of the universality and the efficacy of the atone-

ment in a weird, strangely attractive and compelling picture of the Crucifixion. The Cross rests between two hemispheres, and against a cloudy and lurid sky the Sufferer, a halo of victory already above His crown of thorns, looks down in agony upon the whole world for which He died. Blood-drops color every continent and island red. It is a vision of the whole world redeemed by the Lamb of God, slain not for our sins only but for the sins of the whole world.

Raymund Lull wrote the closing words of his "Ars Major" on the eve of John the Baptist, 1296. His purpose was to explain the teachings of Christianity to the Moslem world. "As my book," he wrote, "is finished on the Vigil of John the Baptist, who was the herald of the light, and with his finger pointed to Him who is the True Light, so may it please our Lord Jesus Christ to kindle a new light of the world which may guide unbelievers to their conversion, that they, with us, may go forth to meet the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honour and praise, world without end."

Cairo. S. M. ZWEMER.

AL GHAZALI ON PENITENCE

[Early in 1925 the American Press of Beirut published a pamphlet of forty pages containing selections from Al Ghazali's chapter on the subject of penitence in his *Ihya-'ulum-id-Din.* The pamphlet is beautifully printed (though not without misprints) and has on the margins of the pages some well-chosen parallels from Christian Scripture. The publication of these selections suggested the translation of them for the use of students who do not read Arabic with sufficient ease. Apparently no English translation of this part of Al-Ghazali's works has ever been published.

The following selections comprise about two-thirds of those in the pamphlet. The translation has been made after careful comparison with the text published by the Maimaniyeh Press, Cairo, and the text with commentary by Al-Zabadi. These two texts do not often differ in any important point. For convenience of reference the pages of each have been indicated with the capital letters T (= text, vol. 4), and C (= Commentary, vol. 8).—C. G. N.]

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The Nature of Repentance

(T. 3 C. 500) You should know that the meaning of penitence comprises three parts, a knowledge, a state, and an action (C. 501). The knowledge comes first, the state second, the action third. The first causes the second, the second causes the third in a chain of consequence essential to the consistency of the law which expresses God's rule and sovereignty.

Knowledge is the recognition of the great harmfulness of sin, and of the fact that it is the veil between the servant and all that he loves. If his knowledge of this is certain and sure, and his heart is convinced, there springs from this knowledge a heart-felt grief for the loss of what he loves. For the heart grieves whenever it perceives the loss of its beloved; and if that loss is the result of its own act, it grieves over the act which caused it; and our name for this grief over the past act which has caused the loss of the beloved, is remorse. If this pain constrains the heart and holds it in thrall, then another state is produced in the heart by this pain, and this is called will, or purpose of action, and it has a connection with past, present and

future. Its connection with the present is renunciation of the sin with which it has been associated. Its connection with the future is its resolve to abandon till the end of life the sin which has caused the loss of the beloved. Its connection with the past is to make amends for the past by reparation and performance of duty, if the case admits of reparation.

(C. 502) The first element, then, is knowledge: it is the way of approach to all these blessings. By this knowledge I mean belief and assurance. For belief is admission of the truth that sin is a deadly poison, and assurance is additional certainty of this admission, and negation of all doubt of it, and its absolute hold over the heart. Whenever the light of this faith shines on the heart it kindles the fire of remorse, and this gives pain to the heart, since by the shining of this light it perceives that it is separated from its beloved. This is like the case of a man who has been in darkness when the sun rises. The light gleams upon him and disperses clouds or draws aside a veil, and after being near to destruction, he sees his beloved, and the fires of love are kindled in his heart, and those fires spring up in him in a glowing purpose of reparation.

So then these three, knowledge, remorse and resolve, (connected with the present and the future in renunciation of sin, and with the past in making reparation) are three separate elements of one idea. The word "penitence" should be applied to the whole idea: though often it is used to mean remorse only. In this sense knowledge is an introduction and preparation; and renunciation of sin is a fruit and a subsequent result. It was in this sense that he himself (peace to him) said "Remorse is penitence," since remorse cannot occur without knowledge, which is its cause and of which it is the fruit, nor without resolve, which follows it subsequently. So remorse is supported on both sides; I mean by its cause and by its result. (C. 503) In this sense also penitence has been defined as a melting of the emotions caused by previous iniquity.

This, however, refers only to the pain of penitence, which has also been called a blazing fire in the heart and contrition of soul beyond the power of healing.

* * *

But all the various definitions of penitence are too many to collect. If you understand these three elements of its meaning, and their essential connection and their relative order, then you know that all that has ever been said in definition of it is insufficient to compass its full meaning. The search for the true nature of things is, after all, more important than the search for mere words.

The Necessity and Virtue of Penitence

You should know that the necessity of penitence is clearly shown both by experience and by proof-texts. It is plain to spiritual perception, if that faculty in any man is open, and when God has enlarged his heart by the light of faith, so that he is able to walk by the light which he possesses in the midst of the darkness of ignorance, and needs no guide to lead him at every step. For every traveller either is blind, and needs a guide for his steps, or has sight and may be directed to the entrance of the path, from which point (C. 504) he can guide himself (T. 4). In the path of religion also men may be divided into the same two classes. The man whose spiritual perception is immature cannot dispense with tradition to guide his feet. He needs to hear at every step a pronouncement from God's book or from the prophet's law. If ever he is left without that, he is perplexed. Such a man's progress, though his life be long and his diligence[1] great, is limited, and his steps are uncertain. But the blessed man whose heart God has enlarged by submission (Islam) and who walks in the light of his Lord, fixes his attention on the straight path, and overcomes wearisome obstacles; and in his heart shines the light of the Koran and the light of faith. Such is the power of the light within him that he

1 So text. Com. reads "his good fortune."

makes his venture on the least indication of a light scarcely kindled, no flame of which has actually reached him. But if the flame does reach him, it is light on light to him (God guides whom He will to His light). Such a man does not need a pronouncement quoted for every event. He who is in such case, if he wishes to know the duty of penitence, looks first with his spiritual perception at penitence as it really is; then at the true meaning of duty; then combines the two ideas, duty and penitence. He will not waver in his adherence to penitence, because he knows that the meaning of duty is that which is necessary to the attainment of eternal bliss, and salvation from eternal destruction. (For there would be no meaning in describing anything as duty, if it were not for the close connection of bliss and misery with doing it or leaving it undone). The saying "Duty is what is enjoined on us," is an empty phrase, for there is no meaning in our using the words, "another enjoined it on us," or "did not enjoin it on us," unless we have an immediate or eventual purpose in doing something or leaving it undone.

If then a man knows the meaning of duty, and that it is a means to attain eternal bliss: if he knows that there is no bliss in the eternal home but in meeting God Almighty, and that every one who is separated from Him is inevitably wretched, since there is an impassable barrier between him and his desire, and is consumed in the fire of separation and the fire of hell: if he knows that nothing prevents us from meeting God but the pursuit of desires, and association with this fleeting world and clinging to the love of what we are absolutely certain to lose: if he knows that nothing brings us near to God but severance of the bonds that tie the heart to the vanities of this world, and whole-hearted endeavour towards God, seeking for companionship with Him by continuous remembrance of Him, and for love to Him by knowledge of His glory and beauty, as far as is in man's power: if he knows that his sins (which are the turning aside from God and the

following of the desire of devils, the enemies of God, banished from his presence) are the cause of his being excluded and banished from God Almighty; if he knows all this, then he doubts not that to turn from the way of banishment is essential to the attainment of nearness, and that such turning is accomplished only by knowledge (C. 505) remorse and resolution. For if he does not know that sins are the cause of banishment from the beloved, he has no remorse, and his walk in the way of banishment gives him no pain, and without this pain he cannot be converted. The meaning of conversion is renunciation of sin, followed by good resolve. He now has no doubt that these three things are essential to his reaching the beloved. Such is the faith which results from the light of spiritual perception.

But there is also the man who does not aspire to this condition (indeed its heights are far above the powers of most men); he has in tradition and in its observance a wide field through which to arrive at salvation from destruction. In this he should mark the utterances of God and of his prophet, and of other good men of the past. God Almighty has said, "Repent all of you before God, oh believers; mayhap ye will prosper." This command applies universally. God Almighty has also said, "Oh ye who have believed, repent before God with a genuine repentance," where the meaning of "genuine" is "sincere toward God Almighty, free from all blemish," a word derived from a root "pure." Another indication of the merit of repentance is God's utterance, "God loves those who repent; God loves the pure." (C. 506) The prophet (peace upon him) said, "The penitent is beloved of God; and he who repents of sin is as he who has no sin." The prophet also said (the prayer of God and peace upon him), "God rejoices more (C. 507) over the repentance of the believing servant than does a man who goes forth into a deadly desert with a camel to carry his food and drink, and who lays down his head and sleeps, then

when he wakes finds that his camel has disappeared, seeks it till thirst or heat or whatever God appoints overpowers him, and says, 'I will return to the place where I was and lie down and die,' then lays his head down on his arm to die and wakes again and finds his camel loaded with food and drink by his side—God Almighty rejoices more over the repentance of the believing servant than does this man over his camel." In some versions of this story the man says in his extreme joy when he intends to return thanks to God, "I am thy Lord, and thou art my servant." El Hasan el Bosri, it is related, said that when God, great and glorious, repented over Adam (peace upon him), the angels congratulated him, and Gabriel and Michael (peace upon them) came down to him and said, "Oh Adam, great is your bliss in God's repentance over you." But Adam, (peace upon him) said, "Oh, Gabriel, if there is any further question after this repentance, what is my position?" And God revealed this to him, "Oh Adam, you have given your descendants not only a heritage of trouble and toil but also a heritage of repentance, and whosoever of them calls upon me, I will answer him as I have answered you, and whosoever of them asks forgiveness of me, I will not grudge it to him, for I am (C. 508) near, I answer. Oh Adam, I will gather from the tombs all the penitent, glad at heart, laughing, for their appeal is answered."

Innumerable are the assurances and indications of this; and the general consensus of Imams agrees upon the necessity of repentance, since the meaning of that consensus is the knowledge that sins and transgressions destroy us and separate us from God Almighty. This belongs to the subject of the duty of belief: but the way it is sometimes neglected is amazing. The meaning of this knowledge is to put an end to that neglect, and there can be no opposite opinion about the necessity of that.

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Urgency of the Duty of Repentance

(T. 7, C. 513) So the transgressor is necessarily lacking in faith. Transgressions are to faith what harmful foods are to the body. They continue to collect in the stomach until they change the composition of its elements, while the stomach does not perceive them until its composition is damaged, and the man first falls ill, then dies. So with transgressions: if a man is afraid of destruction in this finite world, he must shun poisons and harmful foods in every circumstance and immediately. The man who fears eternal destruction must surely do likewise. He who has partaken of poison and regrets it, must vomit it up, cease to partake of it, counteract it, and remove it from the stomach immediately and energetically in order to make reparation to his body which has been in danger of destruction (though that would deprive him only of this fleeting world). But he who has partaken of the poison of religion, that is, sin, must the more diligently turn from it by making all possible reparation while a respite (that is his remaining life) is still offered to him. What is to be feared from this poison is the loss of the other, the abiding world, in which is eternal bliss, and great possession, which to lose is the fire of hell and eternal torture. Many, many lives in this world are cut off in less than the minutest fraction of its span, since to that span there is (C. 514) no limit whatever. Oh, haste then, haste to repent, before the poison of sin produce in the spirit of faith an effect which passes the skill and experience of doctors, which makes all protection unavailing, all advice useless, and all exhortation of friends vain; so that it can justly be said of the patient that he is lost.

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Necessity of Repentance Common to All

(T. 8, C. 516) Now the proof that penitence is obligatory continuously and in every condition is that no human being is free from transgression in any part of his body,

since even prophets are not so. * * * This is stated in the Koran and the accounts of the sins of the prophets (peace upon them), and their repentance, and their tears over their sins. If in any condition a man were free from transgression in every part of his body, he still would not be free from anxiety over his sins; and if in any condition he were free from anxiety, yet he would not be free from the insinuations of the devil, who puts into his mind suggestions which dissipate his thoughts and make him neglectful of the remembrance of God; and if he were ever free from that, he would not be free from negligence and shortcoming in the knowledge of God and of His attributes and His works. All this is shortcoming for which there are certain causes. To abandon these causes and to be occupied with their opposites is conversion from one path of life to the contrary one. In fact the meaning of penitence is conversion. That man should be absolutely free from this shortcoming is inconceivable. (C. 517) However varied the fate of different individuals may be, there is no escape from this fundamental fact. About this the prophet said, (peace to him) "There is an oppression on my heart until I ask pardon of God seventy times every day and night." Therefore God Almighty honoured him by saying, "May God forgive your former and your latter sins." If this was the case with the prophet, what must be the condition of other men? * * * As to the meaning of the words, "Penitence is a duty in every circumstance," you should know that we have already shown that man, as he is originally created, is never free from the pursuit of his appetites; and that not only does penitence mean that he must renounce them, but complete penitence also includes reparation for the past. Whenever man follows his appetite, there rises from it a darkness which clouds his heart, just as from a man's breath there rises a cloud on a polished mirror: and if the darkness of the appetites accumulates, it becomes a corruption like the vapour of breath on the surface of a mirror, when the tarnish accu-

mulates. God has said, "Nay, but what their deeds have earned them is a corruption on their hearts." If this corruption accumulates it becomes deeply imprinted on the heart like tarnish on the surface of a mirror, which, if it accumulates for a long time, eats into the substance of the iron and destroys it, so that it can never be polished again. * * * Just as darkness proceeds from rebellious acts and appetites and clouds the heart, so a light rises from acts of obedience and renunciation of the appetites, and the cloud of rebellion is wiped out by the light of obedience. The prophet (peace to him) referred to that in the words, "Pursue evil with good; it will obliterate it."

Thus the servant can in no condition of life be free from the duty of effacing the marks of evil from his heart by good works, whose effect is the opposite of the effect of that wrong. * * * (T. 9, C. 520). Oh beware lest this world shoul deceive you! Oh, beware, beware, one- thousand thousand times, lest you should fall into error about God! These things are mysteries, but he who catches the faintest whiff of their meaning will know that the duty of sincere penitence is, to the servant who walks in the ways of Almighty God, continuous at every breath of his life, though he should live as long as Noah, and that this is an imperative and immediate duty.

How true are the words of Abu Suleiman Darani when he said, "If the wise man were to weep for the remainder of his life over nought but his past disobedience, that alone would cause him grief till his death. Then what of the man who occupies the rest of his life in folly like that of his past?" The saying means just this. The wise man who has a precious jewel and loses it without getting any use from it will undoubtedly grieve over it: but if, with its loss, his own destruction is involved, his weeping will be the more bitter. But every hour of life, nay, every breath, is a precious jewel which has no substitute or equivalent, and is able to bring you to everlasting bliss and save you from everlasting misery. What jewel is

more precious than this? If you lose it by negligence your loss is manifest. * * * And if you do not weep over that calamity, that only shows your folly. The greatest of all calamities has befallen you. Between it and the knowledge of it lies the sleep of negligence. Men are asleep; but after death they will awake; then every bankrupt's insolvency will be revealed and the calamity of every wretched wight. Then will all hope of reparation vanish. * * * God's word points to this when He says, "Give alms of what we have given you, ere death come to any one of you, so that he says, 'Oh my Lord, if Thou wilt grant me respite for a little, I will give alms and be one of the good.' But God will never respite a soul which has reached its term." [A commentary on this verse says] (C. 521) At that point he will say, "Oh angel of death, delay death for me one day in which I may repent toward my Lord and procure provision of goodness for myself." But the angel will say, "Your days are passed: not a single day!" Then he will say, "Respite me one hour!" But the angel will answer, "Your hours have passed: not a single hour!" and will shut before him the gate of penitence; his soul will flutter, and his breath will rattle in his throat. * * * To such a man God saith, "Penitence is not for those who do evil, then, when they come to the day of death say, 'Now I repent.'" God says also, "Penitence before God is confined to those who do evil in ignorance and soon repent." Which means that soon after the sin the sinner regrets it and obliterates its mark by a good deed which recompenses for it, before corruption accumulates on his heart and removes the possibility of obliteration. Therefore the prophet said (prayers of God and peace upon him), "Pursue evil with good: it will obliterate it." * * *

True Penitence Acceptable to God

T. 10, C. 522) You must know that, if you really understand the meaning of acceptance, you will not doubt

that all true penitence is accepted. They who see by the light of insight, and trust the light of the Koran, know that every pure heart is accepted by God Almighty, and in the next world has the joy of being near Him, and is prepared to look with the imperishable eye at the face of God Almighty. They know too that the heart is originally created pure, and every child born is born into the true religion and loses its purity only when it is contaminated by the dirt and darkness of sin. They know also that the fire of remorse burns out this dirt, and that the light of good obliterates evil from the heart, and that the darkness of transgression has no power before the light of good deeds, just as the darkness of night has no power before the light of day, or rather, as the defilement of dirt has no power before the cleansing power of soap. A king will not accept a dirty garment as his clothing; nor does God Almighty receive a darkened heart into His company. The use of a garment in unclean occupations soils it; but washing it with soap and hot water is certain to cleanse it; so the application of the soul to bodily appetites defiles it, but washing it in tears and the flame of remorse cleanses and purifies it. Every heart that is pure and holy is accepted just as any clean garment. Your duty then is to cleanse and purify; but acceptance is a free gift which is appointed by eternal decree (C. 523) of which there is no reversal.

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(T. 11) To imagine that genuine repentance can be rejected is as foolish as to suppose that the darkness will not vanish at sunrise, or that the dirt will not disappear, when a garment is washed with soap, unless the dirt by reason of its long accumulation has destroyed the fabric of the garment. In that case the soap has no power to remove it. This is like the accumulation of sins so that they become deeply imprinted and eat like rust into the heart. A heart like that would never be converted or repent. Yes, a man might say with his lips, "I repent," and

it might be like a fuller saying with his lips, "I have washed the garment." That would not cleanse the garment in the least. If he does not change the condition of the garment by using something to counteract that condition which is firmly established, the case is the same as the complete impossibility of penitence.

The Knot of Obstinacy, and Its Resolution

(T. 42, C. 627) [First] Some believe that retribution will be delayed. [The remedy for this is that man] should know that all that will happen will happen, and that the morrow is near for all who look for it, and that death is nearer to every man than his shoe lace is, though he know it not; and mayhap the hour is near. * * *

Second. Postponement of penitence. The remedy for this is contemplation of the fact that the lament of those tortured in the fire is mostly about their procrastination, for the procrastinator builds upon a foundation which does not exist—that is, length of life. Perhaps he will not live long, and even if he does, he can renounce sin no more easily tomorrow than he can today. I presume his present inability is due only to appetite, and appetite will not leave him tomorrow, but will be the stronger, since it will be confirmed by habit. Appetite confirmed by habit is very different from appetite unconfirmed. This is how procrastinators are (C. 628) lost. * * * (T. 43) The procrastinator is like nothing so much as a man who needs to pull up a tree, and perceives that it will yield only to great strength. So he says, 'I will postpone it for a year, then return to it,' though he knows that all the time the tree stays there its roots grow stronger, while he himself, as he grows older, becomes weaker. * * *

Third. Trust in God's leniency. The remedy for this has already been stated. It is like a man spending all his money and leaving himself and his family in poverty, in the hope that God Almighty in His bounty will allow him to stumble on a treasure in a desert land. If this can hap-

pen, then God can be lenient about sin. It is as if a man were expecting a night raid of robbers in his country, and left his hoard of money in the court of his house: then, after deciding to hide it by burying it, neglected to do so, saying, "I will await God's favor in making the robbers miss it, either by their not reaching my house, or by their dying at the door if they arrive there." * * *

Fourth. Doubt, which is atheism. * * * This should be cured by direct knowledge suitable to the limits of the doubter's intelligence. You should say to him, as the prophets who were supported by miracles said, "Is it conceivably possible; or do you assert that you know it is absolutely impossible, like the impossibility of a man being in two places at once?" If he answers, "I know that it is absolutely impossible," he is a perfect imbecile. Probably no such person exists among intelligent beings. But if he says, "I am doubtful about it," then say, "Well, if you had left some food for a moment in your house, and a stranger told you that a snake had lapped it and poisoned it, and if you thought it possible that he was speaking the truth, would you eat it or leave it, even if it were the most delicious food?" He will say, "I should certainly leave it, for I should say, 'If he is a liar I shall lose only this food; and abstinence from it, though difficult, is a short matter; but if he is speaking the truth I shall lose life itself, which would be far more appalling than the pain of doing without food'" * * * * (C. 629). If he is a sane man, he will have no hesitation over this idea, since there is no comparison between the span of life and the eternity of eternities. Suppose that the world were full of seeds and that a bird picked up one every million years. The seeds would all be gone at last, but the eternity of eternities would have suffered no diminution. How then can any sane man grow weary of abstention from indulgence of the appetites, even for a hundred years for example, for the sake of a bliss which lasts for the eternity of eternities? * * *

Brummana, Syria. C. G. NAISH.

AN INTERCHURCH CONFERENCE IN PERSIA

(Hamadan, July 17-30, 1925)

Although in recent years there have been various local conferences of Christian workers in Persia, this was the first Interchurch Conference on record. It was not so much an interdenominational conference as a conference between the representatives of local churches made up of Evangelical Christians. Many of these local "churches" are merely small groups of Christians informally organized. Others are well organized, definite interchurch organizations having been formed in the field of the Church Missionary Society and in Northwestern Persia. About sixty groups of Evangelical Christians were reported from all over Persia. Of these thirty-five are Assyrian churches near Urumia. The others vary in size from eight or ten to approximately three hundred. Some are of mixed membership, others solely Armenian, Assyrian or Persian. About ten of these groups sent official representatives to Hamadan, the number being made up as follows: eight converts from Islam, three from Judaism, three Armenians, three Assyrians and three Americans. The latter sat as the elected representatives of the local churches, not as missionaries. In addition there were a number of unofficial Moslem converts attending from outside Hamadan, and a few other missionaries by invitation took active part in the deliberations of the conference. It was therefore a body representative of the Persian churches, not of the missions.

The daily sessions of the conference consisted of a devotional hour, a Bible study hour, a doctrinal study hour and a discussion hour. In the Bible study hour two

courses were given: one on Galatians, one on Messianic prophecy; both were led by natives of Persia. The doctrinal studies were on the Holy Spirit and the Organization of the Christian Church. The topics for discussion were, Christian Literature, Christian Marriage, Evangelistic Work, The Training of Workers, Closer Relationship and Interchurch Organization. Three discussions were led by Persians, all converts from Islam, and three by missionaries. The discussions always ran over the allotted time. Committees were appointed to consider each subject and report upon it at later sessions.

The discussion on Christian Literature occupied a good deal of time with what might seem minor questions, and even the Committee report did not give an adequate idea of the progress made at the conference in matters pertaining to literature. Of recent years the Intermission Publication Committees have been trying to place more responsibility on a Persian committee for selecting and preparing literature. A few men have been interested, but each followed his own bent. The opportunity for face-to-face conference between men of widely differing tastes and environment was perhaps the most valuable contribution of the conference to the preparation of literature.

The points chiefly discussed in the conference were the abuse of the sale of portions of Scripture, the need of a Persian Koran, the use of the term *Ruhallah* and the need of a Christian newspaper. Many urged that the Bible Society be asked to discontinue the sale of portions of Scripture, as it led to a lack of respect for the Gospel and misunderstanding as to its nature. The majority, however, did not support this view. Objection was taken and sustained to the use of the term *Ruhallah* as a title for Christ in Christian literature. It is a title which does not appear in the Scriptures and which leads to confusion between Christ and the Holy Spirit in the minds of those reading Christian books. The conference felt

an edition of the Koran in Persian would be a help to the Christian cause, but it was recognized that such an edition must come from non-Christian sources.[1]

In the matter of literature most needed, the vote of the Persians was in favor of Bible commentaries before anything else. The missionaries generally have felt that a newspaper and literature for women and children and those of lesser education were the chief needs. While admitting the value of a newspaper, the committee and conference voted that commentaries and books for developing the higher Christian life are of more importance. Of controversial books there seems a sufficient supply, although there were some who wish Al Hadyet put into Persian. On the whole the Persians are not greatly impressed with the tracts which contrast Islam and Christianity, and especially object to anything of a comparative nature which seems to put Christianity on the same plane as any other religion. While not surprising, considering the influence of Islam in their lives, it is disappointing to find the Persian Christians still indifferent to the literary needs of women and children and men of little education.

In the effort to increase interest in literature, it was decided to recommend the appointment of local literature committees in each church. The Persians did not feel prepared, however, to undertake a general committee of their own, asking the Intermission Committee to act for them through the medium of a Persian secretary whom they are to appoint.

In the discussion on marriage, the position of the man who has two wives at the time of his conversion was not raised, but the question of marriage with non-Christians and the form of marriage. There was unanimous opinion that Christians ought not to marry a non-Christian, though the possibility of exception was recognized. There was

[1][Surely the Christians in Persia are not unaware of the Persian translations of the Koran already in existence.—Ed.]

also close agreement that marriage ought to be solemnized in a Christian manner and before representatives of the church. There was, however, a wide difference of opinion as to whether Christians may follow the custom of the country in having the marriage contract witnessed by a *mullah.* The Persian members of the conference were not agreed as to the significance of such witnessing; whether it was merely a notary function or involved a recognition of Islam. In fact, there is a difference of opinion among the *mullahs,* some witnessing and some refusing to witness a marriage contract between Christians.

The discussion on Evangelistic Work and the Training of Workers did not result in any new or startling suggestions. Emphasis was laid upon personal work, studying the individual and organizing for such work in church and institutional groups. Closely related to this work would be such social activities as reading rooms, greeting strangers at services, making the new convert "at home" in the Christian circle. In country work, repeated visitation should be the policy rather than wide tours seldom repeated; in small groups even, leaders should be appointed to call the people together for prayer and conference, and the stronger groups should assume more responsibility for the outlying groups.

Workers are divided into four classes: writers, Sunday School teachers, evangelists, and pastors. Efforts should be made to find suitable workers for each class and give them the appropriate training. Salaries should be moderate, and given only to Christians of tested experience.

Unity and Union were topics which occupied a great deal of thought. It was the first time products of the Church Missionary Society in the south had come into close conference contact with the results of the American Presbyterian missions in the north. There was a difference of terminology and a difference of practice which sometimes resulted in a little confusion and even tempo-

rary misunderstanding, but the unity of spirit and desire for the closest coöperation were everywhere manifest. A great hindrance to real unity began to appear unconsciously as the members of Christian and Jewish extraction (the latter have long been Christian) fell into the habit of sitting together on one side of the room, while those of Moslem origin sat across the aisle. The discussions also often showed the same division. The one party proud of their Christian experience showed little sympathy with the difficulties facing the convert from Islam, while the latter facing millions of unconverted Moslems did not have much thought for the problem of winning more Oriental Christians or Jews to Christ. This division was finally formally recognized in the decision to organize first along linguistic lines, leaving the formation of a general organization for all Persia for later consideration. The Assyrians (Nestorians) are already organized in a Presbyterian form. The Armenians are discussing forming some organization between Armenian groups, while the conference took steps towards the organization of the Persian and Turkish-speaking groups. These will include the converts from Islam and Judaism, with scattered members from other races.

Owing to the missionary antecedents of the north and south of Persia, anything approaching a union of the churches will involve serious problems of church policy, but it was felt that there is great opportunity for immediate coöperation and understanding in matters of policy, requirements for admission, transfers of members, and united conference. A committee of fourteen under the chairmanship of Bishop Linton was proposed. Four of these, an Englishman, an American, an Assyrian and an Armenian, sit in an advisory capacity only, and were appointed by the conference. The ten voting members are to be converts from non-Christian religions, appointed one each by certain designated local churches. This committee is to report at a conference called for 1927.

While it is possible that this committee will accomplish great things for the future of the church of Christ in Persia, the immediate results of the conference are vision and inspiration. *Vision* of the results already accomplished. Many had failed to realize the progress made in recent years, or the total of Moslems, Jews and Zorastrians who have accepted Christ. *Inspiration* for the tasks before us. Those who are working in less productive areas received renewed hope in the successes reported elsewhere. We all came to realize that the seed so patiently sown by our predecessors had begun to bear fruit, and it might be our lot to reap the harvest.

Resht, Persia. J. DAVIDSON FRAME, M.D.

LOVE MUST WIN PERSIAN CONVERTS

(An Interesting Survey)

There are groups of Christian converts from Islam in several of the cities of Persia. The stories of how they left the Moslem faith and accepted Christ are full of human interest. Many of these converts are tried and true disciples who have attained unto the measure of saints. They have been through persecutions and trials, they have had the richest Christian experience. Others are taking their first steps in the new life.

If we find the things that failed to satisfy these people in Islam and what attracted their attention to Christianity and brought about their conversion, these facts should be a guide and a help in winning other Mohammedans to Jesus Christ. The ideas of these converts on the best methods of work for Moslems should be valuable, for they know their own people better than we do. With these things in view the writer has presented a series of questions to these Christian converts in a number of Persian cities, and over a period of about three years has obtained the answers of some fifty converts.

The list of questions is as follows:

1. Name and place of residence.
2. How long a Christian?
3. In what ways did Islam fail to satisfy you?
4. What first attracted your attention to Christianity?
5. What brought about your conversion?
6. What has Christianity done for you?
7. In trying to convert Moslems should Christians argue with them?
8. Please state what you consider the best methods of winning Moslems to Christ.

In order to get an idea of the returns, we shall first give

the answers of a few converts in full. For obvious reasons the real names of the people are not given.

The first list of answers is from a shoemaker.

1. Name A——. Residence, Meshed.
2. A Christian fourteen months.
3. Islam failed to satisfy me
   (a) After much association with various Moslem sects I failed to find that they had any real knowledge of God either in their teachings or in their conduct.
   (b) Contention and conflict in Moslem beliefs.
   (c) I did not find "rest of heart" in any of their teachings.
4. The reading of the New Testament by a Persian doctor of Yezd first attracted my attention to Christianity.
5. My conversion was brought about by the assembling of proofs, Scriptural and rational, in the studies at the reading room in Meshed, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.
6. Christianity has given me assurance in faith, a change in moral life, more self-control and less irritability.
7. As to argument, I think proofs for one's own beliefs should be well in hand for frequent use and sometimes this leads to argument.
8. Love is the greatest thing to win Moslems to Christ, and personal evangelism the most effective means.

The second list of answers is given by a woman.

1. Name H——. Residence, Ispahan.
2. Eight or nine years a Christian.
3. There is no mercy in Islam. I saw it was useless to pray to dead imams.
4. Had never heard the Gospel until I came to the dispensary for my child's foot. I heard the Word in the dispensary, at first I laughed but afterward the Word took root, I began to come for lessons and the old religion became black in my eyes and withered away. A miracle of healing took place for my boy who is now a pupil in the school.
5. My conversion was brought about by the Holy Spirit enlightening my heart and I no longer wanted to live in the old way.
6. Christianity has done everything for me. My children and I have been kept through the famine and years of life as a widow. In Islam each one is against the other. The religion of Jesus gives rest. I have seen many miracles, and notwithstanding much opposition, God has given me strength to bring up my children.
7. In regard to argument, I think it is necessary to talk to them, for they do not know.
8. The best methods to win Moslems are quiet, persuasive talking and explaining about the works of Jesus Christ, and by praying for them. By degrees their hearts and wills will be softened.

The following answers were given by a young teacher:

1. Name, Mirza K——. Residence, Teheran.
2. Five years a Christian.

3. Islam failed to satisfy me because,

(a) The founder of Islam was himself a sinner like me and it is impossible for a sinner to save another sinner.

(b) A good part of the Koran is copied from other religious books with some change. The other part is what Mohammed himself has written and these things are worldly and selfish.

(3) Islam does not give a happy life.

(4) Islam does not give assurance for eternity.

(5) Islam has a worldly point of view, not a spiritual.

4. Association with Christians first attracted my attention to Christianity.

5. My conversion was brought about by Bible teachers, sermons in the church, and the help, guidance and power of God through the Holy Spirit.

6. Christianity has given me a perfect Saviour for my sins. It has given me a happy and joyful life, the Holy Spirit to guide and help me to do God's will, and assurance for eternity.

7. Yes, we should argue in trying to convert Moslems.

8. The following methods should be used to convert Moslems.

(a) A good translation of the Koran into Persian.

(b) Opening schools and teaching people how to read, many people become Christians by simply reading the Gospel, and when they do not know how to read they can not believe.

(c) Preach more about Christ and the salvation He has brought into the world.

These answers are by a convert of experience who knows both Islam and Christianity thoroughly:

1. Name, M. A. Y——. Residence, Tabriz.

2. Eighteen years a Christian.

3. Islam never gave me peace of heart and spirit. Islam's forms failed to satisfy me.

4. My attention was first attracted to Christianity by the progress of the Christian world. Such a large part of the world was Christian, and so many of the world's greatest men accepted Christianity.

5. My conversion was brought about by contact with men who were saved and by reading the New Testament.

6. Christianity has made me a servant of God and of man, and has given me a longing for sanctification.

7. We should seldom argue, but should explain why we do not argue, and go on to preach Salvation, and let them know we love them.

8. The best methods of winning Moslems are:

(a) Preaching and Christian life by natives of the country.

(b) Distribution of tracts and the Bible.

Now let us look at the answers as a whole and from them attempt to formulate some facts that will guide and help us in our work.

The answers are from people in the following cities:

Teheran, Meshed, Ispahan, Hamadan, Urumia and Tabriz; so a rather wide geographical distribution should prevent a provincial bias, and make the answers representative of all Persia.

The names show that the converts who answered the questionnaire were about half men and half women. In some cases they gave their occupation. There were a number from the tradesman class and several teachers and assistants to physicians. Several of the women who answered could neither read nor write, but the wonder is that so many could do so in a land where illiteracy is so prevalent a condition.

They had been Christians for periods of time varying from two months to twenty-four years. The average period of faith in Christ was a little less than five years. A number gave the time of their belief and their baptism date, showing that in most cases the periods of probation had been several years. Experience seems to show that it is better to be very certain of conversion and a new life before a candidate is baptized. The Islamic law of apostasy still holds in Persia, and the penalty prescribed for one of these professions is death. Under these circumstances the body of believers must be careful in taking new members into their circle and confidence. We should not fail to make the probation period one of careful instruction, and when conversion and the new life are certain, the newcomer should not be held away or made to feel outside so long that his enthusiasm may be dampened. The new convert needs full fellowship with the Christians of his own race as well as fellowship with Christ. The problem of how soon to baptize a Mohammedan who professes faith in Christ is one that requires the love of the Master Himself, as well as great insight and tact.

Dissatisfaction with Islam

We come now to consider the important question of

why Islam failed to satisfy these people who have turned away from the religion of their country and their fathers. We consider the question at this point, though many of the defects in Islam are not realized until there has come an understanding of Christian truth. In many instances, however, we find that thinking people were not satisfied and had not found peace as followers of the Arabian prophet even before their first knowledge of Christianity.

Most of the converts stated several ways in which the Mohammedan religion had failed to satisfy them. The fifty who answered the questions brought out no less than thirty-four counts in their indictment against Islam. It would be very interesting to set down all the answers to this question in full. One man stated, "I found that the fruit of Islam was bad, and when I looked closely I saw that the tree was also rotten."

The causes of dissatisfaction with the old religion as pointed out by the converts were:

1. Islam failed to give peace of heart. This was mentioned in eleven of the answers.
2. The character of the prophet Mohammed. Mentioned by nine.
3. Corruption of the priests and other ecclesiastics. Given in nine answers.
4. Lack of salvation in Islam. Six answers.
5. Wickedness and lack of character among Mohammedans. Six.
6. Lack of love in Islam. Cited by five.
7. Islam did not meet spiritual desires. Five.
8. Mohammed a mere man. Five.
9. Dissatisfaction with the Koran. Mentioned by four.
10. Islam provided no satisfaction whatever. Four.
11. Incomplete or untrue moral code. Four.
12. Comparison with Christianity made Islam fail to satisfy. Four.
13. Islam copies from other sources. Given in three answers.
14. Oppression and injustice of Islam. Three.
15. Place of women under Mohammedan law. Three.
16. The fruits of Islam are bad. Mentioned by two.
17. Reasons too numerous to mention. Two.
18. No assurance for eternity. Two.
19. The prophet and imams of Islam are dead. Two
20. Contradictions in Moslem beliefs. Two.
21. The Mohammedan marriage laws. Two.
22. Superstition. Two.
23. A religion of forms. Two.

The following reasons were mentioned by only one person:

24. No assurance of anything.
25. Evidently a man-made religion.
26. No answers to prayer in Islam.
27. Islam incomplete.
28. Did not find the virtues that make for happiness.
29. No real knowledge of God in Islam.
30. Selfishness of the religion.
31. No mercy in Islam.
32. No prophet foretold after Christ.
33. Corruption of the shrines.
34. Teachings contrary to conscience.

In connection with the failure to find peace of heart, several mentioned that there was no happiness in Islam. This is shown in the religious holidays of Persia, which are nearly all times of mourning and sadness, as opposed to the Christian holidays of Easter and Christmas which are times of great joy.

The fact that the corruption of the priests and lack of character in the adherents are brought out strongly should give us pause and make us realize that our lives are scrutinized and often present what they take to be Christianity more than our words. From later answers in the series we shall see that the character of Christians has had an important part in the experience of these converts. Mr. C. H. Allen of Hamadan has well called "Character" the great weakness of Islam and the strength of Christianity.

Emphasis was placed in a number of answers on the fact that Mohammed was a sinner, as proven by his prayers and his own book, and some went on to say "A sinner cannot save a sinner."

The Koran was called unsatisfactory because of its errors and contradictions, its endless repetition, because much was copied from other sources, and because it did not agree with the Bible.

While I think the answers will bear study and may show us the weak points in Islam from the viewpoint of

those brought up under the system, at the same time I feel that it is far better we should not attack their religion in talking with Mohammedans. If we preach Christ and salvation through Him, an understanding of this positive message will lead them to form their own opinions of Mohammedanism and its founder, as many of these people have done.

How Attention Was Attracted

In a statement of what first attracted their attention to Christianity a number gave several things as, for instance, "Love and character of Christians," "Hearing preaching and reading the New Testament." Three failed to answer this question, probably because they could not recall just the thing that made the first impression.

Heading the list is "The Scripture." Nineteen said they had first been attracted to Christianity by reading the Word of God or hearing it read. This seems remarkable in view of the large percentage of illiteracy in Persia. With the spread of education the efficacy of this means should be increased a hundredfold. This lays emphasis on the fact that every missionary to Moslems should consider the distribution and sale of Scripture as a primary duty.

The character of Christians, nationals and missionaries, is given by twelve converts. And akin to this is "Christian love," which eight of them give as the thing which first attracted them. This only serves to emphasize that what we are is of more importance than anything we do or say.

Six state that their attention was first attracted by preaching or attendance at church services. Five attribute their interest to talking with Christian nationals, and two to conversations with missionaries. Three say that the lessons in mission schools first brought Christianity to their notice, and two were first attracted through the medical work of the missions.

Association with Christians, and the teaching of Christ are each mentioned by two converts. The following are given in one answer: Reading "Sweet First Fruits." The progress of the Christian world. A dream. The fact that Christianity is a missionary religion. The changed life of a convert. Hearing of the crucifixion.

Among all these answers only one person mentioned a tract as first attracting their attention to Christianity, and this was a book of some length. It may be that the tracts we have used in Persia have not been the proper sort to command attention and we may have been remiss in the work of distribution. Nineteen gave "Scripture" as the thing which first attracted their attention. It seems to me this raises the question of the value of story or controversial tracts as opposed to tracts made up entirely of portions of Scripture. Several mentioned Scripture portions as the instrument which had brought their attention to the religion of Christ.

The Means of Conversion

When we turn to inquire the actual means that brought these converts to accept Christ, we find that Scripture is far in the lead. Twenty-two, or nearly half of the answers, say their conversion was brought about by means of the Bible. Some mention certain passages and some say by a comparison of the Bible with other so-called "holy books." From this it would appear that Henry Martyn was surely beginning with the proper foundation when he translated the New Testament into Persian more than a hundred years ago.

Next in order is church attendance or preaching, which is given by nine as the cause, or one of the causes, of their conversion. Seven give speaking or association with Christians, or in other words personal work, as the means of their coming to Christ. Thus the first three causes of conversion as set forth by the answers, in the order given, are: 1. Scripture. 2. Preaching. 3. Personal work. The

circulation and reading of God's Word seems to be of the utmost importance, preaching and personal work are so near that another set of answers might reverse their order, but they are no doubt chief means of conversion.

Although the question was intended to bring out the outward means, six answers said the Holy Spirit brought about their conversion, which is no doubt true.

The following reasons or causes are given by the number opposite each as the instruments of their conversion: An understanding of Jesus Christ, four. Mission schools, three. A heavenly vision or dream, three. Study of apologetic works or tracts, three. The love of Christian people, two. Prayer, two. The changed life of a convert, two. A gradual conviction that salvation was in Christ, two. Healing or recovery from illness, one. "God knows, I do not," one. Proofs, Scriptural and rational, one.

Two persons mentioned an evangelistic reading room, and one a mission hospital, as the place where they had found the means of conversion.

I believe the answers show that our various lines of missionary effort are fruitful, but they seem to inidicate that a number of people are brought to conversion by the Bible, which is out of proportion to the emphasis which we put on the sale and distribution of Scripture. I think, however, that most of the Scriptures that are sold and distributed by missionary agencies and by the Bible Society in Persia are followed faithfully by prayer.

Benefits Received by the Converts

In answer to the question what Christianity had done for them, some grew enthusiastic and replied that Christ had given them "everything" both for this life and for eternity. A great many emphasized the change in their moral life and character since they accepted Christ, many brought out the fact that they had assurance now which they formerly lacked. One man said the few months

since his conversion had been worth more than all his previous life.

Fourteen was the largest number to give any one answer; they said that Christianity had given them happiness and a life of joy. Thirteen said that Christ had brought peace of heart, and an equal number gave a changed life as a result of their new faith.

Ten replied that they had found Salvation in Christianity. Eight said they had been given assurance in faith, and five mentioned assurance for after life or eternity. Seven expressed thankfulness for forgiveness from sin. Five said that Christianity had given them a new purpose in life, namely, to serve God and men.

The following benefits were mentioned by the number opposite each. A new birth, three. Deliverance from death, three. Deliverance from sin, three. Comfort, two. Richest blessing, two. Freedom from want, two. A desire to do God's will, two. Christian fellowship, two. Enlightened heart, two. Happy home life, two.

Two persons mentioned that Christianity had brought them a loss of worldly goods, and two had been expelled from their homes.

The following were each given in one answer: Entrance to the Kingdom. A longing for sanctification. Quenched spiritual thirst. Everything hoped for. The Holy Spirit to guide. Power of prayer. Acceptance with God. An awakened conscience. Complete satisfaction. Banished fear. Trust. Courage. Power. Made it unnecessary to enter a Moslem marriage. Love for everyone. Strength. Self-control and less irritability.

Argument with Moslems

The converts were asked whether it were best to argue with Moslems in trying to convert them. On this point there seemed to be quite a difference of opinion. Twelve answered without qualification that we should not argue and twelve seemed just as positive that we should argue. The comments made by those who gave qualified answers

are interesting and helpful. Five said to explain rather than argue, and five thought argument necessary but suggested that it must be carried on with love and patience.

Three advised not to argue but merely to preach God's Word and Salvation. Three replied that life and conduct counted more than argument. One said concerning argument, "Do not flee from it." One each gave the following answers: Discussion is sometimes profitable. It depends upon the persons. Only argue on special occasions. Argument is usually without result. One militant brother said, "Sometimes we must argue fiercely."

I confess that I was somewhat surprised to see that so many of these converts consider argument necessary. The general opinion of missionaries in Persia is, I believe, that we should present a positive message of salvation and avoid argument. If it be necessary, however, I think it is better for natives to take part in this sort of discussion rather than the foreign missionary.

Suggested Methods for Winning Moslems

In answer to this question most of the converts gave several lines along which they think our efforts should be directed. Seventeen persons said to present Christ through personal work. There is no doubt that in all missionary effort we must put stress upon this personal evangelism. Sixteen answers gave "Showing forth the Love of Christ" as one of the best ways to win converts from Islam, and fifteen gave the closely allied method, "The conduct and character of Christians." It is well to bear in mind that in the Love of Christ we have an appeal that is unmatched in Islam or any other religion and we must strive to show forth that love in our lives. Our own character must reflect the regenerating power of His Spirit if we are to win these Moslem brothers and sisters to Him. The importance of the life and walk ought not, however, to keep us from preaching the Word in season and out.

Ten answers suggested "Preach salvation," and eight

said, "Sell the Scriptures and get them to read the Bible." Eight suggested the use of tracts. One man said, "As we must plow the ground before we sow, in like manner we must prepare for the Gospel message by a wide distribution of tracts." It is interesting to note here that these people believe in the circulation of tracts, even though few of them mentioned this sort of literature as having had a part in their own conversion. Five others suggested that reading and explaining the Bible was one of the best methods. With those who suggested the sale of Scriptures, this makes thirteen who suggested the use of the Word in our work.

Four suggested the training of preachers and native workers and three answers gave each of the following: Show kindness. Work through the schools. Medical work. Show that no prophet should come after Christ. Two persons suggested each of these: Show the corruption and hopelessness of Islam. Use the Koran to prove Christianity. Show them they have no salvation. Translate the Koran into Persian. Give all possible help and care to converts. Show that the New Testament makes no reference to Mohammed. These next suggestions were given in one of the answers: Each convert try to bring others. Approach Moslems by stating Christian truths accepted by Islam. Contrast the load of Islam with the freedom of Christianity. Work through prayer. Show the superiority of Christianity to Islam. Itinerate in the villages. Prove that Mohammed was himself a sinner. Ask the believer in Islam whether he has peace of heart and is prepared for death. Teach the horrors of sin.

It seems to me we may well consider all of these methods set forth by those who have themselves been converted. It may be that this little study will encourage others to make similar surveys along wider lines in their respective fields.

Princeton, U. S. A. J. CHRISTY WILSON.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF MOHAMMED

The abolition of the Khalifate by the Turks and its immediate revival by the Arabs, the establishment of a Mohammedan kingdom in Egypt, the attempted conciliation of Moslems and Hindus in India in opposition to the British Raj, and other recent events in the East, have drawn fresh attention to the religion of the Prophet of Arabia. Mohammedanism must be taken into account. It has moulded the lives and characters of some two hundred and fifty millions of the world's inhabitants, and, whatever its precise value as a religion in any particular place at the present time, its past influence on the development of many peoples, with whom we have to deal, is a most important factor in determining their behavior. Therefore a careful consideration of its significance is essential for the solution of many of the problems with which Western civilization is confronted in the East. Such a book as "The New World of Islam," by Lothrop Stoddard, has presented a conception of the vitality of Islam which is entirely new to the majority of Englishmen; while "The Preaching of Islam," by T. W. Arnold, written from a completely different point of view, has necessitated the reconsideration of many generally accepted ideas with regard to its character. It is not the purpose of either book to describe or explain the Mohammedan religion itself, but what is said of the followers of that religion calls for careful study of their faith and principles. No understanding of the minds and characters of Mohammedans is possible without some knowledge of that which has made them what they are. A satisfactory account of their religion as a whole cannot

be contained in a short article, and such an account is not attempted here. But the first essential of any study of Islam is an examination of the character of the prophet Mohammed himself. It is no more possible to understand Islam apart from Mohammed, than it is to understand Christianity apart from Christ. What was best in the personal character of Mohammed is reflected in what is best in Islam, while the less pleasing features of that religion had their origin in its founder. What, then, is to be said of Mohammed? It is not possible here to examine the prophet's character as a whole. What is attempted is a study of the most essential element in that character, namely, the manner in which Mohammed thought of himself in relation to God and in relation to men. All else that can be said about him is the outcome of this fundamental attitude of mind.

No passages in the Koran give so favorable an impression of Mohammed as those which reveal his knowledge of his own weakness. Like the rest of the book, they consist of words which Mohammed claimed to be the words of God. However we may account for the belief, there can be little doubt that in the case of these passages, at any rate, the claim was based upon personal conviction. The words are addressed to Mohammed himself, and they speak of his doubts and fears, his sense of unworthiness, and the difficulties of his mission. Whatever view is taken of their origin, they reflect the thoughts and aspirations of Mohammed's own mind, and they reveal a sincerity and depth of personal conviction which can hardly be questioned. They show us a man conscious of his utter dependence upon God, and his subordination to the divine will.

In order that this side of Mohammed's character may be appreciated, the passages in question are quoted in full. The writer has carefully worked through the Koran a good many times, and has made the list as complete as possible. They are given in chronological order accord-

ing to the arrangement of Rodwell, which, except in the case of the later Suras, follows closely that of Nöldeke. The translation also is that of Rodwell.

The words first quoted are generally held to mark the beginning of Mohammed's public ministry. They are the divine command to preach.

"Oh thou, enwrapped in thy mantle!
Arise and warn!
Thy Lord—magnify Him!
Thy raiment—purify it!
The abomination—flee it!
And bestow not favours that thou mayest receive again with increase;
And for thy Lord wait thou patiently." (Sura 74: 1-7.)

A similar passage followed shortly afterwards:

"O thou, enfolded in thy mantle! .....
..... Commemorate the name of thy Lord,
And devote thyself to Him with entire devotion.
Lord of the East and the West! No God is there but He!
Take Him for thy Protector;
And endure what they say with patience, and depart from them
With a decorous departure." (Sura 73: 1, 8-10.)

Comment on these passages is unnecessary, but it may be mentioned that reliable traditions tell us of Mohammed's fears and doubts at the time of the first revelations. He seems to have passed through a time of great distress of soul.

The seven passages which follow date from the first two years of his prophetic activity.

"Thy Lord hath not forsaken thee, neither hath He been displeased.
And surely the future shall be better for thee than the past;
And in the end shall thy Lord be bounteous to thee,
And thou be satisfied.
Did He not find thee an orphan and give thee a home?
And found thee erring and guided thee?
And found thee needy and enriched thee?" (Sura 93: 3-8.)

It is clear from this passage that Mohammed was conscious of his own weakness and dependence upon God. His sense of the presence of God had apparently been interrupted, and he had been wondering whether it was due to some sin of his own. He was comforted and encouraged by a reference to all that God had done for him

in the past. The mention of his previous "erring" is of particular importance. We need not stop to consider whether it implies moral shortcoming, or merely ignorance of the truth (as Moslem commentators usually maintain); in either case, it is clear that Mohammed was conscious of his fallibility. We receive a strong impression of his sincerity.

"Have we not opened thy heart for thee?
And taken off from thee thy burden
Which galled thy back?" (Sura 94: 1-3.)

Moslem commentators give different explanations of these words. Some hold that the Prophet's heart was opened in order that it might be cleansed from the stain of sin (tradition gives an account of the event). Others say that the burden was of ignorance only, while the heart was opened so that it might be filled with wisdom and prophetic truth. But all that need be said for our present purpose is that Mohammed had clearly been conscious of some misery of soul, from which God had delivered him. We are, however, reminded of the burden of sin which fell from Christian's back in "Pilgrim's Progress."

"Say: I take me for refuge to the Lord of the Daybreak,
Against the mischiefs of His creation;
And against the mischief of the night when it overtaketh me;
And against the mischief of weird women;
And against the mischief of the envier when he envieth."
(Sura 113.)

"Say: I take me for refuge to the Lord of men,
The King of men, the God of men,
Against the mischief of the stealthily withdrawing whisperer,
Who whispereth in man's breast ———.
Against Djinn and men." (Sura 114.)

As Rodwell himself remarks in a footnote, the Arabic which he renders "weird women" means literally "women who blow upon knots." Without doubt the reference is to witchcraft. Mohammed feared the unseen powers of darkness and wizardry. These passages imply a time of spiritual and mental conflict in the "valley of the shadow."

"Thou, O Prophet, by the grace of thy Lord,
Art not possessed!
And truly a boundless recompense doth await thee."
(Sura 68: 2, 3.)

His enemies said that he was possessed by evil spirits. This reference to it may imply that Mohammed was uncertain about it himself. Tradition makes it clear that he was in an agony of doubt with regard to the earlier revelations, and we are told that it was his wife Khadija who first reassured him. In any case we have in these passages the picture of a soul in real distress, surrounded by unknown terrors and uncertainties, throwing itself upon the protection of Almighty God.

"He (the Prophet) frowned, and turned his back,
Because the blind man came to him!
But what assured thee that he would not be cleansed by the faith,
Or be warned, and the warning profit him?
As to him who is wealthy——
To him thou wast all attention——
But as to him who cometh to thee in earnest
And full of fears—him dost thou neglect!" (Sura 80: 1-10.)

No reference to tradition is necessary to explain this passage. Mohammed's realization of his fault, and his sorrow, show us a side of his character which is seldom appreciated. His utterance of these words, so that all might hear, amounted to a public confession. Clearly he had a conscience, and a love of souls!

"We will teach thee to recite the Koran,
Nor aught shalt thou forget, save what God pleaseth."
(Sura 87:6, 7.)

It may be argued that Mohammed regretted some of his utterances, and was feeling his way towards the doctrine of "Abrogation," which was so useful to him afterwards; but the words date from the early Meccan period, and it is just as reasonable to suppose that he had a genuine feeling of uncertainty with regard to his ability to carry out the mission, which he believed had been entrusted to him by God.

The above passages date from the first two years of

Mohammed's prophetic activity at Mecca. He remained at Mecca for some seven years more. A good many quotations must be made from those parts of the Koran which were published during this time, but many require little comment.

"Do you see Al-Lat and Al-Ozza,
And Manat the third idol besides?
What! shall ye have male progeny and God female?
This were indeed an unfair partition!
These are mere names; ye and your fathers named them thus.
God hath not sent down any warranty in their regard."
(Sura 53: 19-23.)

This passage, as it stands, is of no particular interest for our present purpose, but there is a very important tradition with regard to its origin. The tradition is reliable; indeed, it is hardly possible to account for it at all, unless it is true. It is incredible that any of Mohammed's followers could have invented such a story about him; and it is equally hard to believe that they could have accepted it without very reliable testimony. The tradition relates that the prophet originally said something very different about these three idols, and that the passage, as he first produced it, was in this form:—

"Do you see Al-Lat and Al-Ozza,
And Manat the third idol besides?
These are the exalted females (or, sublime swans, i. e., mounting nearer and nearer to God)
And truly their intercession may be expected."

That is to say that Mohammed abandoned his own position, and attempted a compromise with his opponents. His fundamental doctrine had been the absolute unity and majesty of God, and the nothingness of the idols of the Arabs. The negative side of this, in particular, had aroused bitter opposition. There was reason to think that, if he dropped this part of his message, and allowed some sort of veneration of the idols, the Arabs would be prepared to accept the rest of his teaching and acknowledge him as their prophet. This is what actually happened when he surrendered to the temptation. His words were

received with acclamation. So far, the incident is evidence of weakness and unfaithfulness in Mohammed's character; the sequel has a very different significance. Instead of persecution, the prophet now had popularity, yet within a very few days he repented of his lapse. He publicly withdrew the words, saying that they were not the words of God, but had been suggested to him by the devil. He entirely repudiated the compromise, and reaffirmed his original teaching. For the words which had brought him popularity, he substituted those which stand in the Koran, and the bitterness of his opponents became greater than before. Comment is unnecessary.

"Be not hasty in its recital (i. e., the Koran),
While the revelation of it to thee is incomplete.
Say rather, 'O my Lord, increase knowledge unto me.' "
(Sura 20: 113.)

"Strain not thine eye after what we have bestowed on divers of them—
the braveries of this world——." (Sura 20: 131.)

"Whether we take thee off by death, surely will we avenge ourselves on them;
Or whether we make thee a witness.....we will surely gain the mastery over them." (Sura 43: 40.)

"Say: O my Lord, I betake me to Thee against the promptings of the Satans:
And I betake me to Thee, O my Lord, that they gain no hurtful access to me." (Sura 23: 99.)

"And verily they had well nigh beguiled thee from what we revealed to thee, and caused thee to invent some other thing in our name: but in that case they would surely have taken thee as a friend; And had we not settled thee, thou hadst well nigh leaned to them a little. In that case we would surely have made thee taste of woe in life and in death: then thou shouldst not have found a helper against us." (Sura 17: 75-77.)

"Endure then with patience. But thy patient endurance must be sought in none but God.
And be not grieved about the infidels, and be not troubled at their devices;
For God is with those who fear him and do good deeds."
(Sura 16: 128.)

"But do thou, Mohammed, bear with patience,
For true is the promise of God;
And let not those who have no firm belief,
Unsettle thee." (Sura 30: 60.)

"Have thou therefore no doubts concerning that which they worship:
They worship but what their fathers worshipped before them.....
Go straight on then, as thou hast been commanded....."
(Sura 11:111, 114.)

In these last few passages, we have a picture of a man struggling to maintain his faith in the midst of great perplexities. It is impossible to doubt his sincerity, and when it is remembered that all these words were spoken in public, a real humility must be claimed for him.

"Therefore be steadfast thou and patient; for true is the promise of God.
And seek pardon for thy fault, and celebrate
The praise of thy Lord at morning and evening." (Sura 40:57.)

"Therefore be thou steadfast in patience,
For the promise of God is truth;
And whether we shall make thee to see part of the woes
With which we threatened them,
Or whether we cause thee first to die,
Unto us shall they be brought back." (Sura 40:77.)

"Distort not thy face at men;
Nor walk thou loftily upon earth;
For God loveth no arrogant, vainglorious one.
But let thy pace be middling, and lower thy voice." (Sura 31:17.)

Is his conscience uneasy because he *has* been arrogant?

"Whatever the subject of your disputes,
With God doth its decision rest.
This is God, my Lord: in Him do I put my trust,
And to Him do I turn in penitence." (Sura 42:8.)

"Thou knewest not, ere this, what 'the Book' was,
Or what the faith. But we have ordained it for a light.."
(Sura 42:52.)

"Whether we cause thee to see some of our menaces against them
Fulfilled, or whether we first take thee to ourself,
To us do they return." (Sura 10:47.)

Mohammed seems frequently to have wondered whether he would live to see the fulfillment of what he preached. For the first nine years progress was so slow, and opposition so persistent, that there seemed little prospect of his apostleship being acknowledged by more than a few.

"Say: I have no power over my own weal or woe,
But as God pleaseth." (Sura 10:50.)

"And if thou art in doubt as to what we have sent down to thee,
Inquire of those who have read the Scriptures before thee.
Now hath the truth come unto thee from thy Lord:
Be not therefore of those who doubt.
Neither be of those who charge the signs of God with falsehood,
Lest thou be of those who perish." (Sura 10: 94, 95.)

"A Book hath been sent down to thee;
Therefore let there be no difficulty in thy breast concerning it.
(Sura 7: 1.)

"Say: I have no control over what may be helpful or hurtful to me
But as God willeth; had I the knowledge of his secrets,
I should revel in the good, and evil should not touch me,
But I am only a warner....." (Sura 7: 188.)

"And if stirring to evil from Satan stir thee,
Fly thou for refuge to God." (Sura 7: 199.)

"And think within thine own self on God,
With lowliness and with fear, and without loud spoken words,
At even and at morn; and be not one of the heedless." (Sura 7: 204.)

"Bear thou up then with patience, as did the apostles of old,
Endued with firmness; and seek not to accelerate their doom."
(Sura 46: 34.)

"Say: Verily I fear, should I rebel against my Lord,
The punishment of the great day.....
If God touch thee with trouble,
None can take it off but He;
And if He visit thee with good——
It is He whose power is over all things." (Sura 6: 15, 17.)

"Say: I say not to you, 'In my possession are the treasures
Of God;' neither say I, 'I know things secret;'
Neither do I say to you. 'Verily I am an angel;'
Only what is revealed to me do I follow." (Sura 6: 50.)

"Withdraw from them.....
And if Satan cause thee to forget this,
Sit not, after reflection, with the ungodly people." (Sura 6: 67.)

"My prayers and my worship,
And my life and my death,
Are unto God, the Lord of the worlds." (Sura 6: 163.)

All these passages belong to the period before the flight from Mecca. For nine years Mohammed laboured with very little success. Converts were few, and disappointments were many. His teaching was rejected with scorn, and his prophetic claims with derision. He was accused of falsehood and insanity, and his attacks on idolatry were bitterly opposed. There were times when he and his handful of followers were in danger of their lives.

The above quotations from his sayings reveal his most intimate thoughts during this period. They reveal his sincerity, his sense of his own insufficiency and helplessness apart from God, and his struggling but unconquerable faith. He knew his weakness and his need of pardon. He realised his fallibility, and was tormented by anxieties and doubts, yet he never surrendered his reliance upon God, and was content to submit himself entirely to His will.

The Hejira—the flight to Medina—was the great turning point in his fortunes. He soon became the most influential person at Medina. He won new converts, and his power increased. He was able to enforce his will. He began to send out military expeditions against his enemies, and to compel neighbouring tribes to respect his wishes. Two years after the Hejira he inflicted a severe defeat upon the Kuraish—his Meccan enemies—at the battle of Badr, and, although he was defeated at Ohod, and in danger of annihilation when Medina was besieged, his power continued to increase until, after eight years, he returned to Mecca its acknowledged master. His foes submitted and embraced Islam; distant tribes sent embassies recognising his authority; his apostleship was acknowledged on all sides, and he planned to extend his rule over nations outside Arabia. The Hejira was the turning point in his fortunes. It also marked the beginning of a great change in his character. The scope of the present study is limited. We are concerned with the way in which Mohammed thought of himself in relation to God and men. This is the key to his character, and the difference between the prophet of the earlier years at Mecca and the prophet of Medina, is nowhere greater than in this fundamental attitude of mind.

Mohammed's activity before the Hejira covered nine years; from the Hejira to his death was a period of eleven years, and he was active to the last. Yet his utterances

of the second period contain very few passages comparable with those quoted above from the first.

"But if they seek to betray thee, God will be all sufficient for thee. He it is who hath strengthened thee with His help, and with the faithful, and made their hearts one. Hadst thou spent all the riches of the earth, thou couldst not have united their hearts.....O Prophet, God, and such of the faithful as follow thee, will be all-sufficient for thee." (Sura 8: 64, 65.)

Here it must be noticed that the reference is to *fighting*. It is not a question of converting idolaters, or withstanding temptations of the Satans. The passage proceeds:— "O Prophet, stir up the faithful to the fight!" and it occurs in a Sura entitled "The Plunder."

"Know, then, that there is no god but God:
And ask pardon for thy sin." (Sura 47: 21.)

"But for the grace and mercy of God upon thee, a party among them had resolved to mislead thee, but they shall only mislead themselves; nor in aught shall they harm thee. God hath caused the Book and wisdom to descend upon thee: and what thou knowest not He hath caused thee to know: and the grace of God toward thee hath been great." (Sura 4: 113.)

"We have not sent any apostle or prophet before thee,
Among whose desires Satan injected not some wrong desire,
But God will bring to nought that which Satan had suggested."
(Sura 22: 51.)

There is here an admission of sin perhaps, but the reference does not imply penitence or sorrow. The fault is condoned and excused.

"Verily we have won for thee an undoubted victory.....
In token that God forgiveth thine earlier and later faults
And fulfilleth His goodness to thee,
And guideth thee on the right way." (Sura. 48: 1, 2.)

"When thou seest men entering the religion of God by troops,
Then utter the praise of thy Lord: implore His pardon;
For He loveth to turn in mercy." (Sura 110.)

"Be on thy guard against them lest they beguile thee
From any of those precepts which God hath sent down to thee."
(Sura 5: 54.)

"One day will God assemble the apostles, and say,
'What reply was made unto you?' They shall say,
'We have no knowledge; but Thou art the knower of secrets."
(Sura 5: 108.)

These passages show that the Mohammed of Medina sometimes reverted to the standpoint of the Mohammed of Mecca, but they are not so impressive as the earlier passages, and they are buried in a mass of sayings of a very different character.

We must now consider the matter from the opposite point of view. We must trace the growth of the *pride* of the Prophet.

It may be useful first to analyse the occurrences of the expression "God and the Apostle." It is found that after the Hejira Mohammed very frequently bracketed God and himself in this way. There are only two examples of it before the Hejira, and one of these is possibly misplaced; but it occurs seventy-two times after the flight to Medina! The uses of the expression may be classified as follows:—

(i) as *the object of belief;* sixteen times.
Most usual form—"Believe in God and His Apostle."
(ii) as *object of obedience,* twenty times.
Most usual form—"Obey God and the Apostle."
(iii) as *object of rebellion,* nine times.
Most usual form—"Such as rebel against God and the Apostle. . . . . "
(iv) as *possessor of spoils, etc.* four times.
(v) as *giver of commands, promises, etc.* fifteen times.
(vi) as *judge,* five times.
(vii) as *'friends' and protector,* four times.

Let it be repeated that, with two possible exceptions, all these occur after the Hejira.

The change in Mohammed's thought of himself and his relation to God and men is clearly shown in the growth of his claim to obedience. Before the Hejira there are indirect references to obedience, but very few actual claims to it. On the other hand, Mohammed seemed frequently to deny that he had any right to obedience.

"Warn thou then, for thou art a warner only;
Thou hast no authority over them." (Sura 88: 21.)

"I come to you from Him, a plain warner." (Sura 51: 50.)

"I am your apostle, worthy of all credit;
Fear God, therefore, and obey me." (Sura 26: 125, 126.)

These words are put into the mouth of Noah, Houd, and other prophets. They are included here because Mohammed is comparing himself with the prophets of the past, and it is implied that the claim is his also.

"And kindly lower thy wing over the faithful who follow thee;
And if they disobey thee, then say,
'I will not be answerable for your doings.'" (Sura 26: 215.)

"I am but a warner....." (Sura 38: 65.)

"My sole work is preaching from God and His message;
And for such as rebel against God and His Apostle
Is the fire of Hell." (Sura 72: 24.)

"Still have we sent thee only as a herald and a warner."
(Sura 25: 58.)

"As to him who erreth, say, 'I am a warner only.'" (Sura 27: 94.)

"I am only a plain spoken warner." (Sura 29: 49.)

"My work for me, and your work for you.....
I am clear of what ye do." (Sura 10: 42.)

"But I am only a warner, and an announcer
Of good things to them that believe." (Sura 7: 188.)

"I am only charged to warn openly." (Sura 46: 8.)

"We have not made thee keeper over them,
Neither art thou guardian over them." (Sura 6: 107.)

"Thou art a warner only, and every people hath its guide."
(Sura 13: 8.)

After the Hejira, we find a few passages in which his mission is limited in this way, but there are a great many others of an entirely different character.

"Obey God then, and obey the Apostle,
But if ye turn away—our Apostle
Is only charged with plain preaching." (Sura 64: 12.)

"Obey God and His Apostle, if ye are believers....."
"Whoso shall oppose God and His Apostle;
Verily God shall be severe in punishment."
"O ye faithful, obey God and His Apostle....."
"Obey God and His Apostle, and dispute not....."
(Sura 8: 1, 13, 20, 48.)

"Believers! Obey God and the Apostle." (Sura 47: 35.)

"But if they turn away—thy duty is only preaching."
"Say: Obey God and the Apostle....."
"Obey God and the Apostle, that ye may find mercy."
(Sura 3: 19, 29, 126.)

"Whoso shall rebel against God and His Apostle.....
Him shall God place in the fire, to abide therein for ever."
(Sura 4: 18.)

"O ye believers, obey God and the Apostle,
And those among you invested with authority....."
"And whoso shall obey God and His Apostle....." (Sura 4:62, 71.)

Mohammed's claim grew, and became more definite, with the increase of his power. We now come to some of the most remarkable expressions of it.

"Whoso obeyeth the Apostle, in so doing obeyeth God."
"And as to those who turn back from thee—
We have not sent thee to be their keeper." (Sura 4:82.)

"God giveth His apostles power over what He will; the spoils.....
"What the Apostle hath given you, take;
What he hath refused you, refuse." (Sura 59:6, 7.)

"It is not for a believer, man or woman,
To have any choice in their affairs,
When God and His Apostle have decreed a matter." (Sura 33:36.)

"Whoso obeyeth God and His Apostle,
With great bliss shall he be blessed." (Sura 33:71.)

"Whoso obeyeth God and His Apostle....."
"Say: Obey God and obey the Apostle.....
Suppose that ye turn back, still the burden of his duty
Is on him only, and the burden of your duty rests on you.
If ye obey him, ye shall have guidance;
But plain preaching is all that devolves upon the Apostle."
"Observe prayer, and pay the stated alms,
And obey the Apostle, that haply ye may find mercy."
(Sura 24:51, 53, 55.)

In some of these passages, the claim to obedience is coupled with the statement that the Apostle's work is "only preaching," but the re-iterated insistence upon obedience makes it clear that "only preaching" had a much wider meaning after the Hejira, than it had before it!

"They who oppose God and His Apostle,
Shall be brought low." (Sura. 58:6.)

"Say; O men, I am only your open warner." (Sura 22:48.)

There is good reason for thinking that this verse of Sura 22 is misplaced. The expression "O men" was apparently used only of the Kuraish, in Mohammed's preaching at Mecca before the Hejira.

"In truth, they who plighted fealty to thee,
Really plighted that fealty to God;
The hand of God was over their hands." (Sura 48:10.)

"Whoso shall obey God and His Apostle.....
He shall bring him into the gardens,
'Neath which the rivers flow....." (Sura 48:17.)

"O believers, enter not into any affair,
Ere God and His Apostle permit you."
If ye obey God and His Apostle, he will not allow you
To lose any of your actions." (Sura 49:1, 14.)

"—what God and His Apostle have forbidden." (Sura 9:29.)

"For him that opposeth God and His Apostle
Is surely the fire of Hell." (Sura 9:64.)

"Obey God and obey the Apostle.....
But if ye turn back, know that our Apostle
Is only charged to deliver a plain announcement."
"The Apostle is only bound to preach." (Sura 5:93, 99.)

This is the last of the passages to be considered in the case of the claim to obedience. Sayings of almost identical wording have been included, in order that there may be a clear impression of the insistence and magnitude of the demand.

Koranic references to Mohammed as *Intercessor* throw light on the change which began to take place at the Hejira. There is no mention of his intercession on behalf of his followers before the Flight. There are not a great many after it, but some of them are significant.

"Ask pardon for thy sin,
And for believers, both men and women." (Sura 47:21.)

"Forgive, therefore, and ask pardon for them." (Sura 3:153.)

"If they.....come to thee, and ask pardon of God,
And the Apostle ask pardon for them,
They shall surely find that God is He who turneth unto men—
Merciful." (Sura 4:67.)

"When it is said to them, 'Come, the Apostle
Of God will ask pardon for you'.....,
They turn their heads aside.....
Alike shall it be for them, whether thou
Ask pardon for them, or ask it not." (Sura 63:5.)

This is no denial of the efficacy of the Apostle's intercession in general. The meaning rather is that certain people have sinned so much that even the Apostle's prayers cannot avail for them.

"Ask indulgence for them of God." (Sura 24: 64.)

"O Prophet, when believing women come to thee.....
Ask pardon for them of God; for God is Indulgent, Merciful."
(Sura 60: 12.)

"There are some who deem.....their alms
And approach to God, and to the Apostle's prayers;
Are they not their approach?" (Sura 9: 100.)

"And pray for them; for thy prayers shall assure their minds,
And God heareth, knoweth." (Sura 9: 105.)

In view of the other passages, where Mohammed's intercession appears to have a peculiar efficacy for the forgiveness of his people, it can hardly be maintained that the last quotation limits its value to the comfort which they may derive from the thought that he is praying for them. Several of these passages suggest that Mohammed came to regard himself as, in some sense, a mediator between God and man. They all date from after the Hejira, and are another sign of the changed way in which he thought of himself in relation to God and men.

The change may be studied from another angle by a consideration of the passages in which Mohammed is referred to as *Judge* and *Arbiter*. With one partial exception, there are no such references before the Hejira. The exception is that Mohammed claimed to have been given the Koran and the truth, in order that he might settle the disagreements of the Jews and Christians with regard to their Scriptures.

"We have sent down the Book to thee only,
That thou mightest clear up to them
The subject of their wranglings." (Sura 16: 67.)

A very limited judicial authority is here claimed, and there are a number of passages which repudiate any more extensive jurisdiction, i. e., before the Hejira.

"As to him who erreth, say, 'I am a warner only." (Sura 17: 95.)

"My work for me; your work for you.....
I am clear of that which ye do." (Sura 10: 41.)

"Thrust not away those who cry to their Lord.....
It is not for thee to judge of their motives." (Sura 6: 50.)

"But the people have accused the Koran of falsehood.....
Say, 'I am not in charge of you." (Sura 6: 65.)

"O my people, act as best ye can;
I verily will act my best, and hereafter ye shall know."
(Sura 6: 134.)

These passages are in sharp contrast to the following, which date from after the Flight. There was a considerable period of time between them, since the first of the latter was not produced until Mohammed had been at Medina for nearly three years.

"If in aught ye differ,
Bring it before God and the Apostle." (Sura 4: 62.)

"They will not believe until they have set thee up as judge between them on points where they differ.
Then shall they not find in their own minds
Any difficulty in thy decisions."
"Verily We have sent down the Book to thee with truth,
That thou mayest judge between men,
According as God hath given thee insight;
But with the deceitful ones dispute not." (Sura 4: 69, 107.)

"And when they are summoned before God and His Apostle,
That he may judge between them,
Lo, a part of them withdraw." (Sura 24: 47.)

"The words of the believers, when called to God and His Apostle
That he may judge between them,
Are only to say 'We have heard, and we obey';
These are they with whom it shall be well." (Sura 24: 50.)

"And when they ask leave of thee on account of any affairs of their own, then grant it to those of them whom thou wilt." (Sura 24: 64.)

"—God will behold your doings, and so will His Apostle;
Work ye; but God will behold your work,
And so will His Apostle." (Sura 9: 96, 104.)

"If therefore they have recourse unto thee,
Then judge between them, or withdraw from them."
"And to thee have We sent down the Book with truth,
Confirmatory of previous Scriptures, and their safeguard.
Judge, therefore, between them by what God hath sent down."
"Wherefore do thou judge between them." (Sura 5: 46, 52, 54.)

It is hardly possible to imagine any more absolute authority than that which Mohammed claimed in the years which followed the Hejira. It was not that he claimed authority as prince and leader of his people; he claimed

it by Divine right, nay, he spoke as though he personally were invested with the authority of God Himself.

An examination of the passages relating to Mohammed's personal dignity and privileges reveals an unpleasant side of his character. Nearly all such passages date from after the Hejira, but there are two earlier sayings which show how he began to think of personal exaltation.

"Truly a boundless recompense doth await thee,
For thou art of a noble nature." (Sura 68: 2.)

"It may be that thy Lord will raise thee
To a glorious station." (Sura 17: 81.)

After the Hejira we find the following significant utterances.

"When ye have taken any booty,
A fifth part belongeth to God and the Apostle." (Sura 8: 42.)

"Nearer of kin to the faithful is the Prophet
Than they are to their own selves.
His wives are their mothers.
According to the Book of God they are related by blood."
(Sura 33: 5.)

The context of this passage, and the Moslems' own traditions of the life of Mohammed, leave little doubt as to the motive of this reference to his wives. He could not bear the thought of their being married again after his death.

"A noble pattern had ye in God's Apostle." (Sura 33: 21.)

The reference here is to Mohammed's conduct in battle.

"No blame attacheth to the Apostle
When God hath given him a permission." (Sura 33: 39.)

Mohammed desired Zainab, the wife of Zaid, his adopted son. Marriage with the wife of an adopted son was strictly forbidden by the current moral law, but Mohammed could not restrain his lust. He did not attempt to alter the law, but he said that God had given him special permission to break it. It was a curious kind of privilege for a Prophet of God to claim. A few verses later occurs the following. Its significance is very plain.

"O Prophet, we allow thee thy wives whom thou hast dowered, and the slaves (concubines) whom thy right hand possesseth out of the booty which God hath granted thee, and the daughters of thine uncle, and of thy paternal and maternal aunts who fled with thee, and any believing woman who hath given herself up to the Prophet, if the Prophet desire to wed her—*a privilege for thee above the rest of the faithful.*" (Sura 33:49.)

Mohammed had nine wives at this time, besides slaves. The number of wives allowed to the faithful was, and is, four. Mohammed gratified his unruly passions, and, in order to "save his face," claimed that the favour of God placed him above the ordinary moral law. Comment is unnecessary.

"O believers, enter not into the houses of the Prophet, save by his leave.....Then disperse at once. And engage not in familiar talk, for this would cause the Prophet trouble, and he would be ashamed to bid you go. But God is not ashamed to say the truth.....And ye must not trouble the Apostle of God, nor marry his wives after him for ever. This would be a grave offence with God." (Sura 33:53.)

There is no space to consider whether it is credible that Mohammed really believed these to be the words of God. In either case, we have here an extraordinary example of spiritual pride. Any one who desires to form an opinion of Mohammed's character at its worst, will do well to read the whole of the Sura from which the last five quotations are made. The Prophet claims a special indulgence of God to justify his vices; he produces a divine command to force his followers to treat him with the respect and reverence which his pride demanded; and then shamelessly asserts that God is especially pleased with him!

"Verily God and His angels bless the Prophet!
Bless ye him, O believers, and salute him with salutations of peace."
(Sura 33:56.)

Never was his conduct more despicable; never did he claim more boldly to be the favourite of Heaven.

There are a number of other passages similar in character to those last quoted.

"Address not the Apostle as ye address one another,
And let those who transgress his command, beware."
(Sura 24:61.)

"—that ye may believe on God and His Apostle,
And may assist him and honour him,
And praise him morning and evening." (Sura 48:9.)

"O believers, raise not your voices above the voice of the Prophet; neither speak loud to him, as ye speak to one another, lest your words come to nought.....They who lower their voices in the presence of the Apostle of God, are persons whose hearts God hath inclined to piety. Forgiveness shall be theirs, and a rich reward. They who call out to thee while thou art within thine apartments, have most of them no right perception of what is due to thee. But if they wait patiently till thou come forth to them, it were better for them.
Know that an Apostle of God is among you." (Sura 49: 2-7.)

The believers' salvation and hope of heaven depend upon the reverence which they show to the Prophet! Yet the words were spoken by the same man who said "I am a warner only!"

The above quotations show clearly how Mohammed, in his later years, thought of himself in relation to men. It remains to consider the position he assumed in relation to God. A great deal is implied by what has already been said, but it may be well to bring together a number of passages in which God and the Apostle are virtually identified. One has the impression that they can only be separated in thought! Reference must first be made to the seventy-four occurrences, already mentioned, of the expression "God and His Apostle." The Prophet is spoken of in the third person, but in effect the meaning of the expression, as used by Mohammed, was "God and I" claim promise and command. That this is not an exaggerated interpretation of the words is made clear by the following passages, all of which, needless to say, date from after the Hejira; indeed, the earliest of them was uttered some three or four years after Mohammed's arrival at Medina.

"Whoso obeyeth the Apostle,
In so doing obeyeth God." (Sura 4: 82.)

"Whoso shall sever himself from the Prophet.....
We will turn Our back on him,
As he hath turned his back on Us,
And We will cast him into Hell." (Sura 4: 115.)

"This is what God and His Apostle promised us,
And God and His Apostle spoke truly."
"They who affront God and His Apostle.
The curse of God is upon them." (Sura 33:22, 57.)

"Verily they who plighted fealty to thee,
Really plighted that fealty to God,
And the hand of God was over their hands." (Sura 48:9.)

"God will vouchsafe us of His favour,
And so will His Apostle." (Sura 9:59.)

"Worthier is God and His Apostle
That they should please him....." (Sura 9:63.)

"Your iniquities press heavily upon him (the Apostle).
He is careful over you;
And towards the faithful, compassionate, merciful." (Sura 9:129.)

Elsewhere these epithets, "compassionate" and "merciful" are used in this way only of God. Mohammed seems to be thinking of himself almost as if he were God.

"Verily your Protector is God and His Apostle." (Sura 5:60.)

Most significant of all are the passages where a *singular* verb or pronoun is used after the expression "God and His Apostle." The following are the most noteworthy examples of this.

"Whoso shall obey God and His Apostle,.....
He shall bring him into the gardens....." (Sura 48:17.)

In some cases the "he" cannot be interpreted as referring to God only; it represents the combination "God and His Apostle."

"Worthier is God and His Apostle that they should please *him.*" (Sura 9:63.)

"When they are summoned before God and His Apostle,
That *he* may judge between them." (Sura 24:47, 50.)

"That ye may believe on God and His Apostle,
And may assist *him* and honour *him,*
And praise *him* morning and evening." (Sura 48:9.)

What is to be thought of a man who could use such words of himself and God?

It is not the writer's purpose to attempt an estimate of Mohammed's character, or to comment further upon the

passages which have been quoted. Attention, however, is drawn to one point. The Prophet of the early days at Mecca possessed a real nobility of character and life, and he was conscious of his weakness and sinfulness. He was content to be "a warner only," and he betook him "for refuge to the Lord of men, the King of men, the God of men." The hands of the Prophet of later years at Medina were stained with the blood of enemies slain in treachery. He was guilty of great cruelty, shrank from nothing to accomplish his purpose, and gave free play to his lust. All this is clear from the Moslems' own traditions, and from the Koran itself. Yet it was at this period of his life that he claimed the special benediction of God, and spoke as if he shared the prerogatives of the Almighty. The loss of his humility marked the passing of his nobility of character; the growth of his pride coincided with the emergence of all that was worst in him. The evidence is in the Koran. Mohammed has revealed the descent of his soul. "Thou hast the Koran," said Ayesha, his favourite wife, when asked of the Prophet's character; "art thou not an Arab and readest the Arab tongue? Why dost thou ask me? for the Prophet's disposition is none other than the Koran." So be it.

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THE LITERATURE OF THE DERVISH ORDERS

Although the vast majority of dervishes are illiterate, it is astonishing how large a literature they have, and how marketable it must be, for much that has been written, down through the centuries, is still to be bought in the ordinary Mohammedan bookshops of Cairo, and from itinerant vendors in the market places throughout the country. The books vary in size from the great tomes of "Al-Fatuhât-al-Mekkiya" in eleven volumes to small collections of prayers that would fit comfortably into a waistcoat pocket. They vary also in matter. Al-Fatuhât-al-Mekkiya is encyclopædic in its mystical lore and eclectic, though its author claims to have written the whole by the direct inspiration of God. With other mystical writers, however, he takes care to claim only a lower form of inspiration, not that accorded to the prophets, and uses an entirely different word to express it. Some of these books are in poetry, notably the excellent collection of Ibn-ul-Farid, a great Cairo saint and mystical poet, whose tomb mosque is still to be seen near the Citadel. It has always astonished me not to find Arabic translations of the poetry of Jalâl-ud-Din-ar-Rumi. I do not think the dislike of orthodox Islam of all Turkish mysticism sufficient reason to account for this neglect. There are many collections of lives of the saints, notably "al-Ṭabaqât-al-Kubra" by ash-Sha'rani in two volumes. All such books, however, have a minimum of biography, and are mostly taken up by sayings attributed to the saint and his miracles. Ash-Sha'rani has many volumes to his name, among them a large book which is a *précis* of the

eleven volumes of Al-Fatuhât-el-Mekkiya. Some are small books, generally containing special prayers belonging to particular orders, a few contain the *Zikrs,* or forms of service by which they "Remember God," or practice the presence of God. These, however, are rather rare, and difficult to obtain. There are many books on magic, and several collections of sermons. For example, we can get considerable collections of the sermons of Abd-al-Qadir al-Jilani and Ahmad-ar-Rifa'a. As these date back some seven centuries, one would very much like to know upon what authority we are to accept them as genuinely representative of the sermons actually preached by these men. There are also a great many volumes of the teaching given by dervish teachers; or perhaps, we would be more correct to call them the textbooks for dervish teachers, written very often by men who had a remarkable gift for teaching and writing. Of such books, we have the great works of al-Ghazzali, the "Risâla" of al-Qushayri, the "Qut-el-Qulub" of al-Mekki, and a host of others.

A rather typical book of this sort lies on the desk of the writer at the present moment. It contains about three hundred pages, octavo, printed on very cheap paper and wretchedly bound—a book that could possibly be bought for three or four piastres, and is quite evidently meant for the masses. It is divided into fifty-two lectures. Like nearly all these books of the orders, almost the first half of the book is taken up with teaching of ordinary orthodox Islam, but the illustrations, which are profuse, are entirely taken from the sayings of famous mystic saints, or from stories concerning them. Every lecture is interspersed with pieces of poetry, much of it undoubtedly being the work of the writer himself. This particular book is peculiar, in that it continually quotes from Dhu'n-Nun, the Egyptian, a saint not in very great repute in Egypt, whose teaching is considered dangerously unorthodox, but who is constantly quoted by Jalal-ad-Din-ar-Rumi in his "Mesnevi" and in other

Turkish and Persian works. Two or three of these stories will give some idea of the usual way dervish teachers have of illustrating their teachings with stories of the saints.

In Lecture II, which embraces everything in the saying of the Most High, "The Merciful is the Wisdom of the Koran," we read: Dhu'n-Nûn, the Egyptian, the mercy of God be upon him, said: "I passed one day by some markets, and I saw a funeral, the bier being borne by four men, and there were no other followers, so I said 'By God, I will be a fifth so that I will obtain reward and merit.' When they came to the place of burial, I said, 'Oh, funeral party, who is next of kin to this body? Let him pray over him.' They said, 'Oh, Sheikh! we are all in the same case, there is not one of us who knows him.' So I stepped forward and prayed over him, then we put him into the lateral niche of the grave, and gave him the exhortation of dust. As they were about to go, I said to them, 'Tell me the affair of this corpse.' So they said, 'We have no information about him saving that a woman hired us to carry him here, and she is beside us now.' For whilst we were talking a woman had approached us. She bore the marks of goodness and piety, her eyes were weeping, and she was grieving in her heart. When she stood beside the grave she uncovered her face and loosed her hair and lifted up her hands to Heaven, and she continued uttering supplications and praying for an hour, when she fell to the ground in a faint. Then she recovered, and afterwards laughed, so I said to her 'Please tell me your story and the story of this corpse, and why this laughter after such strong crying?' She said, 'Who are you?' I replied, 'Dhu'n-Nûn,' and she said, 'By God, if you had not been one of the most important of the righteous ones I would not have told you. This is my son—and the apple of my eye. He was a prodigal in his youth, clothing himself in the garments of vanity; there was no evil he did not commit, no sin after which he did not eagerly search;

he flaunted in the face of his Lord the banners of iniquity and transgression. Suddenly there befell him a pain, which lasted three days; when he saw death was coming, he said to me, 'Oh mother, I beseech you in God's name, that if I die do not let any of my friends or brothers or relatives or neighbours know of my death, for they will not have compassion on me because of my evil deeds, my stupidity and the multitude of my sins.' Then he cried:

"'Sins have I which have turned me
From my fastings and my prayer,
My body being sickly,
I have died before my death.
Would I'd repented to my Lord
From all my evil deeds.
I am as a slave, O God,
Stupefied by my liberty.
Openly I have confessed my faults;
My sins are my destroyers.
My evil deeds have conquered me
Gone are all my good doings.'

"Then he cried and said, 'Oh, mother, Oh, how I have neglected the things of God. Oh, how I have hardened my heart against God. If I die, mother, you must put my cheek in the dust, and then you must put your foot on the other cheek and say, *'This is the reward of the slave who has disobeyed and opposed his Master and neglected His commands and followed his own desires.'* So when you have buried me, raise your hand to God most high and say, *'Oh God! I have been pleased with him, turn thou Thy hand from him!'* When he died I did all that he required of me, and when I lifted up my hand to heaven I heard a voice say clearly, 'Go, oh mother, for I have come nigh to a gracious Lord, who is not angry with me!' So when I heard that, I laughed."

In Lecture xxxv. on "The mention of the Saints, the Justified, the Righteous and the Chosen ones" we read: "Dhu'n-Nûn, the Egyptian (the mercy of God be upon him), said, 'Once I was troubled in my breast, and went on to the banks of the Nile for a walk. I received an in-

ward impression that I should cross over to the other side. So I got into a ship, and put my head between my knees, and did not raise it until I was in the midst of the river. When I raised my head, I saw on my right a very beautiful slave girl, and on her lap a lute and in her hands wine, and on her right a young man in the glory of his youth, beautifully dressed. Then said I to myself, 'Oh soul! after seventy years of devotion have you in this ship fallen amongst winebibbers and the brazenly disobedient to God?' The slave girl turned to me and said, 'Oh Sheikh! drink!' I said, 'My Lord has given me something to drink.' The slave girl drank, and then, attracting the attention of the youth, she filled a cup and gave him to drink. Then filling another she handed it to me. As the cup reached my hand I was taken of an ecstasy, and the slave girl said, 'Oh, Sheikh! why do you not drink of our wine? Do you wish me to sing to you to incite you to drink, or will you sing to incite us to drink?' So I said 'Nay, but I will sing to you so that you shall drink.' She said 'Sing to us that we may hear your song.' I sang:

'Better than songstress or pipe,
In the darkness of the night is the voice of the reciter,
Oh! the beauty and the glory of hearing him,
In the beauty of his voice and his flowing tears
With his cheek laid in the dust,
And his heart in the love of his Creator,
He says, Oh my Lord, and Oh, my Desire,
The burden of my iniquities has "diverted me from Thee,"
Forgive my sins, for they have become great.
Do not cease, Oh, glorious One! from forgiving
Him who in madness has departed from his dwelling,
In the house of holiness, near the Mighty One.
He who lives with his wife becomes like unto her.
Oh! Thou glorious Choice of the chosen ones!'

When the slave girl heard this she fell in a faint, and when she came to herself, she tore off all her adornments, broke her lute, threw her wine into the river, and said, 'Oh Sheikh! if I repent unto Him, will he receive me?' I said, 'Yes,' for thus it is said in the surest of texts 'and He it is who receives repentance from His burdened

ones and pardons iniquities.' So she uncovered her head and kissed my hand, and said, 'Oh my Master, you have been the cause of reconciliation, so ask of Him for me forgiveness and pardon for the past.'" Dhu'n-Nûn the Egyptian said, "We got out of the ship, and separated on our several ways, and I did not see her again. After some years I made the pilgrimage to the Holy House of God. As I was making the prescribed circuit of the House, behold I found myself standing beside a dishevelled slave girl, she was supporting herself by the covering of the Kaaba, crying, praying and saying, 'Oh, my God! By my drunkenness of yesterday and by my wine-bibbing hast Thou not forgiven my sins of today?' So I said, 'Bah! Oh slave girl! in such a place do you say such words?' She replied, 'Get thee away from me, oh, Dhu'n-Nûn! Was I not happy yesterday with the cup of sensual desire? Whereas today with the love of my Lord I am drunk.' I said, 'Who has told you that I am Dhu'n-Nûn?' She said, 'Oh, Sheikh! I am the slave girl who repented at your hands on Egypt's Nile.' So I said, 'But where is all your beauty and your charm?' Then she sang:

'The delight of youth is gone in transgressions,
And after followed the taking of the glories,
Beauty and charm passed away.
Replaced by the work of those whose hope is in Him for the day of Salvation,
Changed were my thoughts of God for He is glorious,
In Him I am saved with the most perfect salvation.'

Then she cried, 'Oh Dhu'n-Nûn! stand where you are till I return.' She disappeared for a moment, and returned with a tray on which were ripe dates, figs and grapes, all out of their season. She placed it between my hands. I trembled in my heart that after seventy years of devotion I had not attained that unto which this slave girl had attained. Then she said, 'Oh Sheikh! when I repented unto Him and confessed between His Hands he enriched me with true faith in Him.'"

We cannot close this article without giving a brief extract illustrating the love of God to man, a subject which has a considerable place in this book, but which is very rare in the teaching of Islam, even in Islamic mysticism.

Ibrahim-as-Sa'ih, the mercy of God be upon him, said: "Whilst I was making the prescribed circuit of the Holy House, behold I saw a slave girl hanging on the covering of the Kaaba, and she was calling and saying, 'Oh! my loneliness after entertainment; oh! my abasement after exaltation, oh! my poverty after wealth, oh! how great is my affliction.' 'So I said to her, 'What is thy affliction?' She said, 'I have lost my heart.' 'Is this your affliction?' I said. Then she said, 'What greater affliction is there than the loss of hearts and their separation from the beloved?' So I said to her, 'Why not lower your voice?' Then she said, 'Oh Sheikh! Is this your house or His house?' I said, 'Verily it is His house.' She said, 'Is the sacred territory yours or His?' I replied, 'Verily it is His sacred territory.' She said, 'Whom are we visiting?' I said, 'Him.' She then said, 'Let us then be amorous between His hands, as our visitation is unto Him, and our loving gestures unto Him.' Then she raised her hand and said, 'Oh my Master. By Thy love to me hast thou not returned unto my heart?' So I said to her, 'From whence hast thou learnt that He loves thee?' She replied, 'From His previous care of me, for He has been an army of armies in my search, and He has defrayed the cost and provided slaves, in taking me out of the land of infidelity and bringing me into the land of the knowledge of the One God, and has made me to know the way unto Him, and has guided me successfully unto Himself, so that I was between His hands before I realized it.'

Zeitoun, Egypt. GEORGE SWAN.

NATIONALISM AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

No European observer can be in close contact with any of the great peoples of the East without being impressed with the reality of the existence of the spirit of nationalism. For reasons easy to understand, this spirit is more evident among the population of towns than among the people of rural districts.

We are not concerned here with the causes which have contributed to the rise and development of a national self-consciousness in the Orient. A perusal of Dr. Lothrop Stoddard's book "The New World of Islam," will, amongst other books, provide much information of interest in this connection. Students of European history know full well how long and painful has been the pathway along which the Christian nations have traveled to attain their present standing as peoples enjoying the blessings of religious freedom.

It is with feelings of humiliation and shame that many Christians recall the spiritual blindness, prejudice and mistaken zeal that dominated the minds and wills of religious leaders in what were well styled the dark ages of Christendom.

Even now it must be confessed that the spirit of intolerance and exclusiveness is by no means dead. Remembering this, an Occidental with a spark of philanthropy in his being can only regard the growth of a nationalistic spirit in any people with sympathy and hope, not unmixed with apprehension. This at once brings us to the question why, especially in the case of an Eastern people, should there arise this apprehension—the fear that the pathway towards the realization of the national

aspirations will be beset with danger and mistakes of no little consequence?

In the present advanced stage of the world's history, when the inter-relationship of the nations is so important a factor in the maintenance of peace and progress, it is all-important that the younger and less experienced should profit from the mistakes of the older nations, and should understand well the foundations on which a stable and healthy national life must rest. Not the least important of the several foundation principles of a healthy national development is that of religious liberty, sometimes described as liberty of conscience, the right of private judgment, freedom of choice in matters belonging to the spiritual part of man's nature.

Man being essentially spirit, he needs a spiritual home where he can find spiritual food, rest and companionship. Having reached the age of maturity, he may find this home in the religion of his forefathers, or he may fail to do so. The issue being so vital as it concerns the present and the future life, his quest for a spiritual home must be unfettered. Moreover, man by his very constitution is a rational and moral agent, and, only so far as he is free, can he reach his destiny and develop his manhood. Anything that hinders the development of the latent capacities of a man for the highest, or his right of freedom of enquiry, must sooner or later impoverish morally the nation of which he is a unit. Modern thought, supported by psychology, declares that no interpretation of life is complete which does not accord the spiritual the dominant share; that is, the physical and the spiritual combine, each in due proportion, to form the basis of life. Compulsion therefore in religion is ruled out *in toto*.

Do the leaders of Islamic thought who, of course, must be reckoned with by any Islamic people aspiring to national independence, accept a fundamental statement of this kind? Yes and no. The liberal wing of Moslems,

with perhaps varying degrees of hesitation, say "yes," but the old reactionaries would say "no." Unfortunately the majority are imbued with the teaching of the ultra-conservative party, and are intolerant of any departure from strict Islamic tradition. The former or liberal wing realize that customs and legislation that were regarded as a distinct advance in a country like Arabia fourteen centuries ago must submit to a large measure of accommodation both in theory and practice if Islam as a system is to hold its own in a world of scientific, social and political progress. The result is that the Islamic world is rent in two by the conflict of ideals. Both the Koran and the Traditions can be quoted in support of the principles held by each party. Take for example the following from the Traditions: "Ye are in an age in which if ye abandon one-tenth of that which is now ordered ye will be ruined. After this, a time will come when he who shall observe one-tenth of what is now ordered will be redeemed." In proportion as the liberal movement in Islam attains the ascendancy amongst Moslems, and the true meaning of religious liberty is understood, so much the quicker will anxiety vanish in the minds of all well-wishers to those Islamic countries with nationalistic aims.

In order to make the meaning of the phrase "religious liberty" plain, I venture to call the attention of our friends of the Moslem faith to the case of Lord Headley. A few years ago, the news was hailed with acclamation in Moslem lands that an English peer had embraced Islam. The rejoicing was natural. We must suppose that for some reason, unknown to the world at large, Lord Headley failed to find a spiritual home in the Christian Church, and that he believed he had found it, after inquiry, in Islam. Now the point I wish to emphasize is that neither Church, nor individual, whatever his relationship to his lordship, could interfere in his decision; and that his conversion was followed by no disabilities in respect of his legal "status." Not one of his former co-

religionists dreamed of any attempt to harm his person or his property. He lived in a land enjoying religious liberty—the true article, so to speak; in consequence, he had nothing to fear; he had merely exercised his right of private judgment. No one thought of offering an affront to the Mohammedan faith by regarding his act as criminal, or by considering his character such as to deserve death.

No one is justified in forsaking the religion of his forefathers without adequate cause. When, however, that religion from whatever cause—the fault, it should be remembered, may be with the man and not with the religion—fails to provide a man with a spiritual home of the kind he seeks, then he should not be hindered by his fellows from seeking what his soul desires elsewhere. He is a moral agent, and must be held responsible not to his fellow man for his act, but to his Maker.

I have dwelt at some length on this aspect of Lord Headley's case for the sake of those of our Moslem brethren who read this magazine; it is to them mainly that my fragmentary remarks on nationalism and religious liberty are, with all due deference, addressed. One has met a few Moslem friends who speak of religious liberty, and perhaps make a boast of it, but on examination this liberty is found to be a rather one-sided affair. A mere lip-acknowledgment of the principle of religious liberty leads nowhere. Religious liberty, if it is worthy of the name, must in its actual working and expression be mutual and bilateral; the term can bear no other meaning.

At times one is tempted to think of Islam as an ardent type of monotheism clothed in Arab dress; and one recollects that an integral part of that dress—at least in the case of the Arab of the desert—is the *"shibriyah,"* an ugly-looking knife, a very necessary weapon in a country where every man is his own policeman. Religious zeal is a good thing so long as it is not separated from a spirit

of humility and tolerance. How greatly facilitated would be the admission of the Arabs into the comity of nations if the factor of physical force so intimately associated with their religion—not in its earlier and most inspiring days, but after the Hejira—were eliminated!

I was not a little interested in an article entitled "How Moslems Approach Christians" that appeared in the *Moslem World* for July last (Vol. xv, No. 3) by M. K. Andrew. May I say that the more Moslem missionaries come to my native land (England), the more I for one shall be pleased. Such missionaries will find much religion of a nominal character, much indifference to all religion. The result of contact of indifferent Christians with earnest Moslem missionaries might be to arouse the former to think, and to remind them there are still to be found in the world people who regard riches and pleasure as neither the only nor the chief things worthy of pursuit. Speaking from my own experience as a missionary in the East, I would remark that incidentally the Moslem missionaries themselves can hardly fail to derive some benefit by contact with people of an alien creed and different outlook. Such contact tends to enrich life and thought, especially in that branch of knowledge comprised under the appellation Comparative Religion. It is true they will see some things which will not tend to recommend Christianity to them; but they will not forget that the Christian missionary sees things in Moslem lands which likewise do not recommend Islam to him In the long run, however, the more people of diverse creeds and race meet, the better for us all, as our meeting makes for mutual understanding and respect. There are diversities in the races, but mankind is one, and the corporate feeling is growing in the component parts of the human family comprised in East and West. My readers will pardon this digression: my reason for indulging in it is that I wish to assure Moslem missionaries

that, as far as the Christian Church is concerned, they are welcome in Christian lands, and they need be under no fear of their converts being exposed to any kind of intimidation or disability in consequence of their conversion.

East and West we desire religious liberty for the sake of the individual and collective blessings it confers on a people; we also desire it as a necessary preliminary to the obtaining of the "status" of national independence, whereby the rights of subjects composing a minority within the nation are respected, and whereby international obligations are honored.

Can Islam as a great system in which, originally, legislation touched every department of life—individual, social and political—accommodate itself to the demands of modern national and International life? The question has often been asked, and various answers have been given. Social evils like polygamy and slavery are discountenanced by nearly all enlightened Moslems; the "status" of the Caliphate has entered upon a new phase; we are unwilling to abandon the hope that the time is approaching when public opinion in the Islamic world with reference to religious liberty will undergo a change under the influence of the pressure of modern life, and be raised to a standard enabling the peoples of an ancient monotheistic creed to take a worthy place in the comity of nations, their old worn-out spirit of exclusiveness and intolerance being wholly eliminated.

An inquiry into the aims and principles of the League of Nations would help to give a right direction to the budding ideas of Nationalists in Eastern Lands.

Nablous, Palestine. FREDERICK JOHNSON, M.B.

THE SHRINE COLLEGES OF MESHED

One hundred years ago the English traveller, James B. Frazer, secured a list of sixteen schools or colleges in connection with the Shrine in Meshed. In his "Journey into Khorasan," which tells more about Meshed than any other book in the English language, he names and describes each of these schools. The writer of the *Matla' ash-Shams,* which is a copious history of Khorasan in the Persian language, names twelve of these sixteen schools as surviving about forty years ago, and investigations made this year indicate that thirteen of the original sixteen mentioned by Frazer are still conducted as schools. A city with thirteen shrine colleges, each of them more than a hundred years old, may be worthily considered from the standpoint of religious education.

The first and largest of these schools is the school of Mirza Jafar. It is a large building, shaped like a caravanserai, that faces on the old court of the shrine itself. While an interesting story is told of its founder, it is now said to have no distinct endowment, but to be kept up largely by virtue of its location within the shrine. For many years the mere fact of being a student in this school meant forgiveness of sins. There are now about one hundred and twenty *akhoons*[1] or theological students in this particular school. There have been minor alterations and repairs more recently, but the last extensive repairs, as indicated by the inscriptions, were made in 1285 A. H., fifty-eight years ago, by the Zahir-i-Douleh, who was at that time the Governor of Khorasan.

The story is told by Frazer that the founder was a certain Mirza Jafar, who went to India and worked for a

[1] This term was borrowed by the Chinese Mohammedans who call their teachers *Ahongs.*

long time for a wealthy Hindu. When his employer died, the goods that had been his were sold at a public sale. A worthless looking old chest was sold with a lot of other junk to Mirza Jafar. The chest was found to contain the horde of jewels that the old Hindu had accumulated, so Mirza Jafar, soon a rich man in India, began to plan for his return to Persia. The Indian Raja said to him, "If you choose to leave us, well and good, go, but return alone and naked as you came." "Well," replied Mirza Jafar, "your terms are hard but I consent to them, provided you, on your part, consent to return to me the twenty years which I have spent in acquiring this wealth in your country." The Raja was pleased with the answer and allowed him to return to Persia and bring his wealth with him. It was with part of this wealth that he built the school now known by his name.

The second in importance of the shrine colleges, and one that is now considered the best, is the Nawab School. It was founded in 1086 A. H. by Shah Suleiman Safavi, and is located on the Bala Khiaban. There is an assembly room or lecture room called the *madrasa* in which instruction is given by the lecture method. Any good Mohammedans are welcome to attend these lectures. At present the well-known modern poet Adebeh Nisharpuri, is the most popular instructor. He teaches Arabic grammar and logic.

There are rooms around the central court that now accommodate something like one hundred and twenty students. These students get about seven *tomans* a month, their rooms, and opportunity to attend the lectures.

Six more of these shrine colleges were either established or reëstablished in the time of Abu Muzaffar Mansur, Shah Suleiman Safavi. They are, first, the School of Mohamed Bagir, which is located on the Bala Khiaban, and is marked with a dedicatory inscription dated 1083 A. H., and now has ninety students. The second is the Behzadieh School, which was established at the same

time, is also located on the Bala Khiaban, and now has only twenty-five students. The third is the Bala Sar school, i. e., the school at the head of the tomb of the Imam, which is located, as the name indicates, within the shrine area, and now has thirty students. The fourth is the Pari-zad School. The name means 'born of a fairy.' It adjoins the place of the tomb in the very center of the shrine area, has an inscription dated 1091 A. H., when Shah Suleiman repaired it, and now claims twenty-five students. The fifth is the Paen-i-Pah School, i. e., the school at the foot of the tomb of the Imam. This school has one inscription of 1085 A. H., the time of Shah Suleiman Safavi, and another inscription ascribing certain repairs to the generosity of Nasir-i-din Shah, in 1289 A. H., only fifty-four years ago. The school now has only fifty students. The sixth is the school of Abbas Guli Khan, which is located on the Paen Khiaban and has an inscription dated 1077 A. H. It is almost as large as the school of Mirza Jafar and is a caravanserai three stories high; but at the present time it is nearly all in ruins and has only thirty students. The original founder, Abbas Guli Khan, was at one time chief of the army in Khorasan.

A story is told about the founder of the School at the Foot of the Tomb. He also was a poor man who got rich in India. He had been blindfolded and taken by force to the abode of a wealthy Hindu, where he was compelled to work as a slave. He was ignorant of his whereabouts, and his master considered it safe to utilize his labor by having him dig in a garden where, from time to time, he was accustomed to bury his gold. But he soon came to know that a public road ran along one side of the garden and he began to plan his escape. He was eager, of course, to take some of his master's buried treasure with him. After some time he hit on the expedient of killing a cat, of making a bag of the cat's skin and of stuffing the cat-skin bag with gold. This he threw over the wall the same night into the street, and then, by the simple expedient of

climbing over the wall, he was a free man with sufficient capital to start in business, and was eventually able to establish a school in the Shrine of Imam Reza.

In addition to the eight already mentioned, there are two schools said to have been founded in the time of Shah Abbas. One of them is the school of Fazl Khan. A hundred years ago Frazer understood that it owned a library worth about seven thousand dollars. The founder of this school left the provision that Hindus should be refused as pupils, because they are 'void of truth,' Mazanderanies should be excluded because they are 'quarrelsome,' and Arabs should not be admitted because they are 'very dirty.' This school now has about sixty students.

The second school, said to have been founded in the time of Shah Abbas II, is the School of Kheyrat Khan. It has an inscription dated 1057 A. H. At present it is considered as a school of good standard and has ninety students.

The eleventh and twelfth are two schools about which I have been able to learn little, except that they are mentioned in Frazer's list a hundred years ago. One of them is the School of Suleiman Khan, Kajar. The only inscription noted is of comparatively recent date, 1282 A. H., when it was repaired. It has only from twenty to thirty pupils. The other one is the school of Abdul Khan on the Paen Khiaban. It also has only from twenty to thirty pupils, is not mentioned in the list of schools given in the *Matla-ash-Shams,* but Frazer makes the interesting observation that the founder ordered the rooms to be built without shelves or bookcases, because, in his opinion, "a mollah's books should always be beside him, for if they be placed upon shelves out of his reach, he will never rise to take them down."

Lastly we mention the oldest of all these shrine colleges, at least as far as can be judged from inscriptions remaining, the "School of the Two Doors." It is located within the part of the bazaar that is prohibited to non-Moslems.

The door facing the bazaar, because of the advantageous location for trade, has been reduced to a mere passageway, with a shop on either side. But it is still maintained as a school and has about forty students. The three principal inscriptions are, first, the one commemorating repairs made by Shah Suleiman Safavi, in 1088 A. H.; second, one dated 846 A. H., by Amir Shah Ali Bahadur; and the oldest is 843 A. H., in the time of Shah Rukh, the son of Tamerlane. This oldest inscription, 507 years old, is not in the Kufic character, but in the Suls script.

It will be observed that the total number of students in all of these thirteen shrine schools is only 760. But they come here from all parts of Persia, some of them with a small private income, which is supplemented by grants from school endowments. The number of students has been decreasing rapidly as the years go by, and as Persia has more contact with the outside world. The buildings have not been kept in adequate repair, and very little systematic instruction is given. A hundred years ago Frazer tells us that "the priests, mollahs, and learned men, with their scholars, were the most numerous class in Meshed, this city being their peculiar climate and domain." But at that time Meshed had a population of only about thirty thousand, was most inaccessible, as there was no carriage road leading up over the hills, the chief of the shrine was in undisputed authority in the city, and the shrine itself was a place of refuge that neither soldier nor police would dare violate. But times have changed now, for civil and military authorities have displaced the priests and mollahs. Meshed is three times as large, carriages and automobiles are common, and in recent weeks airplanes have been flying immediately over the golden dome, scattering the angels from the sacred precincts.

The shrine schools, however, are in character if not in popularity, much the same as they were in the olden days, so that the following paragraphs, quoted from Frazer's description, are still applicable.

"The objects chiefly attended to in the Persian colleges are, first, to afford instruction in all points connected with the Mohammedan faith, the study of the Koran, and all the standard theological works that relate to the doctrine of the Shiahs; then the study of Metaphysics and of Logic, both of which are taught in a very degraded style; the first consisting, as far as I could learn, of little more than a series of argumentative disputations upon wild and unprofitable paradoxes, and the second, of an ingenious method of playing upon words, the object being not so much to arrive at truth as to display quickness of mind and readiness of repartee in the formation of possible hypotheses. Mathematics are taught on better principles, for they are acquainted with the works of Euclid, but they are scarcely ever applied to any useful purpose. Astronomy is made an object of study, but their views are so contracted, and their theories, founded on the Ptolemaic system, but eked out with strange additions of their own, are so wild and fanciful that it can be turned to no good. It is chiefly made subservient to their favorite science of astrology, the value and importance of which is acknowledged by every Persian. No one will undertake the most trivial affair in life, far less those of greater importance, without consulting a professor of this science for a lucky hour or day; and thus, when a mollah becomes celebrated for his skill as an astrologer he looks upon his fortune as secure. The profits of science chiefly rest with those who study divinity, astrology, and physic. The latter consists in practicing the lowest degree of empyricism, with a knowledge of the qualities and effects of a few simples, exercised with a sufficient degree of grave assurance; and a few lucky cures, most probably the work of nature in spite of the physician, serve to establish his reputation. The medical profession, however, is but ill paid in Persia; those of divinity and astrology thrive the best, and when a man has gained a reputation for sanctity and orthodoxy he soon gains followers. It appears that the priests col-

lect around them a flock, numerous in proportion to their estimation, among whom they perform duties nearly analogous to the parish priest in Europe; but they have no fixed salary, and live upon the voluntary contributions which they receive.

"Those mollahs who have succeeded in obtaining establishments, reside, of course, in their own houses, but such as attend the madressa or school spend most of their time in their chambers there, where they study their several pursuits, and give instruction to those students who present themselves. These students, particularly those more advanced, and those who come from a distance, have a chamber assigned to them in the college to which they are admitted by the *mutawallee,* or superior. Their hours of study are generally in the nights and mornings. During the day they repeat their lessons to their *muallims* or masters, who explain to them such things as they do not comprehend, and set their new tasks.

"There are always certain poor students who perform services for the more advanced or richer ones, such as cleaning out their chambers, fetching wood, water, and articles of food. For the *muallims* and superior mollahs such offices are usually performed by some of their scholars, but the rest help themselves, each bringing from the bazaar such articles as he requires, and cooking independently in his own room.

"The plan of a *madressa* is nearly the same as that of a caravanserai, except that there are no interior vaults to serve as stables. An area of any size is surrounded by a square of buildings, having a gateway serving as a mosque for prayer in the side opposite the qibleh. The central area is often arranged into a garden, in which there is a well for the use of the inhabitants, and the establishment is completed by a few other offices."

Meshed, Persia. DWIGHT M. DONALDSON.

THE STORY OF MY CONVERSION

I lived in a town where there were no Christians, no missionaries and no gospel preachers. Up to the age of fourteen I had never had any opportunity of hearing the Gospel or of reading the word of God. The American Presbyterian missionary, Rev. Dr. K. C. Chatterji, lived twenty-four miles away from any town, six or seven hours by foot or pony and a twelve hours journey by country car. I knew Christianity and Christ through Moslem sources only, and with all the prejudices prevailing among village Moslems. Having completed my primary education, I obtained a Government scholarship to study further, and went to Ludhiana to study English, and attended the government High School there. At Ludhiana I found missionaries, ministers of the Gospel, and controversies among Christians and Moslems. I began to take an interest in religion, but shared with my co-religionists their haughtiness and conceit, and looked down upon Christians as misguided in calling Christ the Son of God.

About this time one of my uncles, who knew no English, sent me an English book, which was given to him by some missionary at Simla. It turned out to be the English Bible. I was delighted to get it. I thought that I must read it in order to be in a better position to attack Christians, and at the same time I wanted to improve my English. I read it through and through, marking the passages which appeared objectionable to me. Along with it I read the passages of the Koran concerning Christ. In spite of all my prejudices and criticism, one thing that struck me was the superiority of Christ over

Mohammed, even according to the passages of the Koran. I could not get further, then. Having completed my course at Ludhiana, I went home to wait for the result of my matric examination. I took with me my copy of the Bible and read it over and over again, and I was convinced that I must be baptized in the name of Christ, as He was superior to Mohammed, and able to intercede with God for the forgiveness of my sins in the day of Judgment. With this desire I travelled twenty-four miles and stood at the gate of the missionary, but unfortunately a sense of worldly shame and cowardliness overcame me, and I became frightened lest some of my friends and relations should see me enter that gate, and I feared what they would say, and how they would treat me. So I returned home very discouraged and disappointed. When I was thinking over the matter, the thought of death came again and again, and I began to feel that if I died in that state I was sure to go to hell.

This fear of hell and the burden of my sinfulness drove me again and again from home and from my parents, and I resolved to go to a place where there would be no friends and no relations to be afraid of. Up to that time I knew little concerning the love of God—the significance of the text "God so loved the world" was hidden from me.

I went to Kangra and entered the Mission Compound, and saw the Church Missionary Society missionary and related to him my story, and my desire for baptism. He charged his catechist to teach me the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. These things I learned by heart and repeated them to the missionary, and was baptized after I had been in the compound a month.

I had left home on the 5th of August, 1887, and was baptized on the 7th of September, 1887. After baptism I wrote to my father. He was a well-read man, a government official. I asked him to send me some necessary things which he very kindly did. The man who brought me my things told me that when my father heard of my

conversion, he did not upbraid me, but wept very bitterly. After a few weeks, when I was working in the Police Department, he sent another man asking and urging me to go and see him. I also felt that I should go to see my father, and consulted the kind missionary. He obtained ten days' leave for me from the District Superintendent of Police and sent his catechist along.

I went first to my native village Una (Dist. Hushiarpur) and saw my father. He treated me kindly, and did not say a word to me about my faith, but others criticized and blamed me. My father urged me to go and see my wife and two sisters in Nuper (Dist. Ambala). I obeyed him and went to Nuper. The catechist and I put up with the Indian minister. Next morning, I went along to my sisters and they sent me to my maternal uncle's house. There a crowd of Moslems of the Mohalla gathered round me and began to ask question after question about my Christian faith, and I answered them as the Lord enabled me to do. Then they planned to bind me and carry me to some *moulvi* at a distance. When I came to know of their plan I prayed to God in my heart. I heard through my brother-in-law that the catechist wanted to say a word to me, and I asked permission to go, and my uncle gave it, but sent two men with me. The catechist was standing in a street and he took me in a corner to speak to me alone. He seemed to have lost any hope of my returning, and was thinking of going alone. It was night, and quite dark. When I found myself alone with the catechist, I told him to run away with me—so both of us fled, and I went to the minister's house.

Almost all of the men and women relations surrounded the house, threatening the minister, and demanding that he send me out to them, but he refused to do so. Then my elder sister whom I loved very much, stepped into the house and came to me. In a commanding tone she told me to come with her. Her words impressed me so much that I could not refuse her. I went out, and she took me

to her own house. There I slept for the night in the second story. In the morning my sister asked me whether I wanted a bath or not. When I took off my clothes, and had bathed, they were not returned to me. I was almost naked and penniless. Then I understood the trick which my sister had played on me. The whole day I remained in that condition, and at night the catechist came to say good-bye to me. I asked my sister to let me go down and speak to him. Thinking I was safe in that semi-naked condition, she let me go, and I ran away again, and asked the catechist to follow me. When we went to the minister's house we were surprised to find out that he was not willing to receive and shelter us. It was about ten p. m. Both of us ran to the bank of the river (Sutlej), which was about two miles from the town. When we reached there, we spent the night on the sand. In the morning we crossed the Enig and journeyed back to my police lines.

During this adventure I was not allowed to see my wife. The story of how I recovered her may be told some other time.

After baptism I wanted to learn further of the new faith, but none cared to teach me, or to remove my doubts and objections. I was rather ashamed to ask such things after baptism. I took up work with the police, mixed with Christians, longed to learn more, but was disappointed and discouraged in every way. The result was that I grew colder and colder, and thought perhaps I had made a mistake in my choice. The lives and dealings of Christians were not in conformity with their scriptures, and they could not explain their faith to others, and did not care to teach new converts. But the Lord who guided me so far did not leave me. At that time there was a Hindoo fair in a village near Kangra. I went there on duty, and saw a crowd of people gathered round some Europeans. I stood in the crowd, and found out that a missionary was preaching the Gospel. He did not know me, so I put some questions to him, and expressed some of my doubts

concerning certain doctrines. He labored for more than an hour, heard me patiently and answered me reasonably. Meanwhile another elderly missionary came who knew me. When he saw the missionary talking to me, he asked him why he was explaining the teachings to one already a Christian. On being asked why I had not said I was a Christian at first, I replied that I knew from my past experience that if he knew me to be a Christian he would not have given me so much time. He loved me and took me in his arms and began to take an interest in me. The name of the missionary was Dr. Henry Martyn Clark, of Amritsar, and the other elderly missionary was Rev. R. Bateman.

Dr. Clark sent me some commentaries of Dr. Imaduddin for study. Under his influence I left my service and went to Baring High School, Batala, hoping to learn more of Christianity there. Up to that time I did not know of the Atonement, nor the Trinity, nor the New Birth. I knew only that if I followed Jesus Christ, He would intercede for me with God in the Last Day, and that my sins should be forgiven and that I should enter paradise.

When I went to Batala my relations wrote to the *moulvi* there to catch hold of me somehow. The name of this *moulvi* was Mohammed Hussain. He sent for me and I went to see him. After a preliminary talk concerning my health and what I did, he asked me whether I understood the doctrine of the Trinity. I told him that since I did not even understand the doctrine of Unity, then how could I understand the doctrine of Trinity? He explained the doctrine of Unity to me in such a way that convinced me of plurality in unity. I said that if according to this explanation there was plurality in unity, it was not hard to believe trinity in unity. I was much cheered and strengthened in my Christian faith. It created in me a keen desire to study Christian theology in order to be able to explain my Christian faith to my

Moslem brethren. My Principal and Headmaster recommended me to the Principal of St. John's Divinity College, Lahore.

I joined the college in November, 189—. Here it was that I saw something more than the Christian creed and doctrine. The life and example of the late Rev. F. A. P. Sheriff, the Principal of the College, gave me a new vision of Christian life, and it was here that my real conversion took place. I saw Christ in him and bowed down head and heart before the Lord Jesus Christ. It was here that a new life began in me, and I cannot forget that period which changed me into a new man.

I write these lines hoping to help some person to deal with some Moslem inquirers. God's way of leading souls to Christ are many and various, but the way He led me may be the way for several others like me.

Lahore. J. Ali Bakhsh.

CURRENT TOPICS

The New Mosque in Berlin

In a letter to *The Muslim,* Singapore, we find this account of the new mosque in Berlin:

"For the benefit of your readers I would like to write something about the Mosque which is under construction in Berlin, and I hope you will kindly find space for the following in your columns. No doubt, the Mosque owes its existence to the initiative and liberality mainly of the Moslems of Lahore, but the other Indian Moslems too have helped. So it is in every way the common concern of all the Moslem people of India.

"The question may possibly be asked, why the Mosque was at all needed in Berlin. The answer is simple. There are more than 1,500 Moslems of all nationalities domiciled in Berlin. Obviously they need a Mosque. Besides, the German Moslem community is increasing, and by the grace of God is bound to increase. There are already twenty-five converts. The Mosque is of absolute necessity for them.

"On my arrival in Berlin, I met Maulvi Sadr-ud-Din Sahib, the Moslem missionary here, and he was kind enough to take me to the Mosque and conduct me around. We could see the dome from half a mile away. It was a pleasant sight, a wide open square intersected by many roads leading from all directions, dotted here and there with gardens and plots of greenery that would bloom with many flowers in spring. Beyond these square sketches what we may call a zone of quiet—a district dotted with pretty little villas standing in their own little gardens. These are the homes of professors. No tall houses may be erected in this locality by municipal orders. It is in all respects the zone of quiet, a select part of the city set apart for the residences of men of learning. It is in the midst of these surroundings that the Mosque is being built.

"Standing on a rise, it has a commanding position. The height from the crest of the dome to the base when finished will be seventy-five feet, and both sides will be flanked by minarets ninety feet high. It requires imagination to realise what an imposing structure it will be when the last touches have been given. It is a square room, 46 x 46, yet due to a multiplicity of arches and other architectural ornamentations, and a goodly number of columns erected to support the dome, it does not quite look like a single room. It is more like a room with galleries on all sides. A purely Islamic style of architecture has been employed. The main gate looks like that of any Indian Mosque of the Mughal period, the gate of the Jamia Masjid, Delhi, for instance, or that of the Shahi Mosque at Lahore—on a scale suited to its size. And there are arches upon arches, and still more arches, a purely Mughal style. I am told,

even the workmen who are translating the plans into a structure of brick and mortar marvel as the design unfolds itself in tangible form.

"Berlin is the capital of Germany. The question is: Is the Mosque large enough to be worthy of the capital and worthy of the name of Islam? It is large enough to answer our requirements for many a day to come. It is magnificent and imposing. But it is neither the Jamia Masjid of Delhi nor the Shahi Masjid of Lahore."

Progress for Moslem Womanhood

Women students have now gained an entrance on the same footing as men to the University of Stamboul. Only seventeen years ago unveiled faces were first seen in Constantinople.

Recently Moslem women with uncovered faces marched the streets of Cairo four abreast, demanding equal rights with men. A law has been passed in Egypt making it illegal for boys under eighteen and girls under sixteen to contract marriages.

A group of five hundred women petitioned the National Assembly at Angora to revise the existing divorce laws and to abolish polygamy. The Turkish Parliamentary Commission has since recommended prohibition of polygamy and has granted Turkish women the right of divorce.

In the larger cities of Persia girls' schools have been opened, attempts have been made to publish papers for women, and societies working for the emancipation of women have from time to time been formed.

An amendment of the constitution was under consideration at a meeting of the Persian Congress for the benefit of women, and forty women attended. As they entered the council chamber they suddenly drew revolvers from the folds of their robes and, pointing them at the men assembled, announced: "We are here to see that you, our husbands and sons, vote right. Now, if you do not, you will not return home."

The Fiery Bath

Mushirabad, a quaint old walled town on the lower road between Hyderabad and Secunderabad, is the scene of the fiery bath *(ghusal-i atashi)* on the last night of Muharram. A weaver, and a Hindu at that, had a dream a generation ago that he could walk the fire immune from harm, a miracle of Hazrat Husain. The original weaver has been succeeded by another who has adopted a *chela* that the wonder may not cease. The fire is lit in the middle of a narrow street near a gateway, for convenience counts for nothing in these strange celebrations. This is at midnight. The fire is fed continuously from the heap of fuel, till at four in the morning a glowing heap of ashes remains. In a booth fifty yards from the fire and facing it are grouped *alams,* or standards, conspicuous among them being those of Husain and Bibi Fatima that will figure prominently when the weaver and his *chela* appear. The hours pass while the wood is being consumed in *nauha* or lamentation for Ali and Husain. A constant refrain sadder and sadder is *"Sher-i-Yazdani,"* O Lion of God, Ali's title, *Hyder-ullah,* in Persian. Then at the name of Husain the beaters beat their bare breasts striking them at each cry, first gently to the whisper of the name, then with resounding blows, Husain! Husain! Husain! and finally so rapidly that the name

has become Hoos! Hoos! Hoos! It may be doubted if ever chains or knives have been used as in Persia making the blood flow.

While the pile of glowing ashes is being raked into a fiery carpet inches thick the weaver and his *chela* seize the *alams,* and keeping step to the wild rapid beat of drums, surge with attendants to keep them in check round the fire and down the crowded street disappearing at the near crossroads where they bathe and prostrate themselves, the drums beating madly all the while. At last comes the climax of the strange wild night. Their heads hidden by the *alams* and intoxicated with frenzy (perhaps out of bottles) they cross and re-cross the fire taking the burn out of it, and then first one or two timidly, but soon scores follow. Most are Mohammedans, and of any sect as it is Hyderabad, others Hindus and even English officers and civilians. At the recent occurrence two English ladies with stockingless white feet braved the ordeal, with painful results to one of them.

There are several theories. It is a miracle of Husain. The weaver takes all hurt out of the fire. To venture to walk through before him would mean to be consumed. Those who walk through will be safe from black magic and the evil eye for a year. But it will have been noticed when the ashes are being raked into the fiery carpet some fourteen feet by fifteen feet that water is freely used on the surrounding earth. This moisture will protect the feet of those who walk rapidly or even steadily across. To hesitate is to be burnt, and this is what actually happened to one of the English ladies. She halted a moment in the midst of the fiery square, and her feet began to grill. But nothing will destroy the faith of the surging multitude, and even of those of higher degree who view the scene in comfort from balconies from which some will emerge to walk the fire, that the explanation is anything but magical.—*Naqli Shah.*

Down with the Mullahs

To the Editor of the Epiphany.

Dear Sir.—The tyranny and supremacy of the Mullahs have now passed into a proverb. The entire Moslem community is now groaning, as it were, to get rid of their chelahs; but strange to say that none has the courage enough to bring them to light. Their long-established hold upon the simple-minded Moslems, is all too known to need recapitulation. It demands an abundant resource of moral courage—courage without which it is next to impossible to throw down their chains.

There is perhaps not a single Moslem in Bengal, nay in whole India, who has not smelt their unwholesome influence. Under the garb of spiritual guides, or *Dharma Gurus,* their only business lies in making the Moslems *Kafirs;* and therein lies their weapon. Common sense and even the milk of human kindness, they possess but little. All that they know is how to give the verdict of stoning to death! Their knowledge is confined more in Hadith than in the Holy Koran. I doubt whether they are capable of refuting all these words of admiration that have now been spoken in their favour.

A student of Islamic history knows well how it is these Mullahs who put all sorts of oppositions in the path of all the great reformers, both religious and secular. I need scarcely say how they essayed their best to frustrate the yeoman's work of the great sage of Aligarh. All these are

known to those who have made a study of the Mullah mentality. Need I quote a saying of the illustrious prophet "that they are the worst of all the mortals under the sun." Who does not know that it was one of these Mullahs that entangled Hasrat Imaum Abu Hanifa (may his soul rest in peace), into all sorts of trouble, and even put him into prison? It was these "Mullahs" who used to throw stones at Hasrat Bayazid of happy memory, the St. Paul of the Moslems.

The Mullahs are always roaming in the dark. They have eyes, but they do not see, they have ears but they do not hear. They have not the remotest idea as to what are necessary to supply the intellectual and spiritual food of the people. Their love for Islam is all but in name. Has ever a "Mullah" brought an educated Hindu or a European under the banner of Islam? It is they who have given rise to caste or creed among the Moslems. There is no sect or sub-sect in Islam, proclaims the Holy Koran, but only different schools of thought. But it is these Mullahs who have brought them into existence.

How to get rid of their chelahs is now the problem of problems. Let the Moslem leaders give a thought over these matters, and not quarrel only for loaves and fishes. It is from the inroads of these Mullahs, that the Moslems should be on their guard. They are the real enemies of Islam. Their indulgence in all sorts of vices is now an open secret. Backbiting is their daily bound by duty. Let the Moslems arise, awake or be fallen forever.

Yours faithfully,

Chinsurah. M. A. F.

New Poor Law in Afghanistan

The Amir of Afghanistan, says an Afghan journal, has promulgated an edict intended to create some kind of poor law administration in Afghanistan. It is chiefly designed to suppress the pernicious habit of begging by able-bodied men and women, and by children of tender years. The children are to be handed over to either their parents or guardians on the assurances that they are to be sent to school, or put to some other productive occupation. If they have no parents they will be treated as orphans and cared for by the state. Able bodied men who beg will be made to work, while old or infirm beggars will be entitled to food and clothing at the expense of the tax-payer, the care of them being entrusted to the local *Kotwal,* who will, however, have a female section in his charge.

New Turkey and the Dervishes

A correspondent of the London *Times* (Weekly), (August 6, 1925) writes:

"When the Republican Government disestablished the Moslem Church in Turkey, if one may use that phrase, a number of people believed that the foundations of all religion had thereby been overthrown, and, as has usually been the case in such circumstances in other countries, began to seek for some substitute. Here was the opportunity for the survivors among the wizards who had been disappointed by the Young Turks fifteen years before. They flocked into the Chamber which the Republicans thought they had swept of *mollahs, hojas, imams,* and other devout persons who might be unduly conservative, and began to practise

upon the ignorant and credulous, not merely with all the arts of the male and female magicians to be found in London, but with some pleasing local variations. No case is reported of ectoplasmic materialization in Anatolia, but exponents of the Black Art unquestionably champed glass in their mouths, inhaled flames, pierced their persons with knives and skewers, prognosticated the future by means of chartomancy, lekanomancy, or after examining the appearance of the entrails of sheep.

"One Dervish sheikh even harnessed modern to ancient science, and enormously impressed his up-country clients, who were received in a darkened room, by veiling his face and switching on small electric lights concealed in his beard and whiskers. This is believed to have had no small effect in bringing about the recent abortive Kurdish insurrection, and it is probably on account of this political development of Art Magic that the Turkish Government has decided to curtail the activities of the necromancers and wizards, who in this country are considered to be old-fashioned reactionaries, and do not claim to be the heralds of a new and ultra-scientific dawn.

"As yet, however, although an era of persecution for these people is predicted, the Government has taken no very drastic action. The necromancers who have been hanged may reasonably be supposed to have incurred that fate rather by reason of open insurrection or other ordinary acts of high treason, and cannot properly be claimed as martyrs to their wizardry. A foreign black exponent of Arabian magic and hypnotism has been thrown out of the country, and one no longer hears the bleating wail of *"Mæras, mæras,"* formerly emitted by the perambulating Pythonesses who told fortunes among the feminine Orthodox of Constantinople.

"What has, however, emerged from the fray is that the Government now appears to associate Dervishes with reaction, whether they be of the Orders implicated in the recent revolt or not, and a good deal is being said and written about them, usually in an unfriendly spirit. It is said that many *tekkés,* or convents, of Dervishes have become ruinous and that no religious ceremonies have been held there for years, while their revenues have passed into the pockets of the Abbots, who are often hereditary, or of the heirs or assigns of these prelates. Other abbots and sheikhs are accused of being incompetent or morally reprobate. It is claimed that for years past young men have been ashamed to follow their fathers into the ranks of a Dervish community, and there is in general just such a campaign against the Dervishes of all Orders, Mevlevis, Boktashis, Rufaïs, Berberis, Kaderis, Shahsilis, Nakshibendis, Haziris, and others, as might have been found in England in the days of King Henry VIII. Sultans of the House of Othman were not considered to be fully seized of the Imperial power until they had been girt with the sword of the founder of their dynasty by the hereditary Abbot-General of the Mevlevis—the famous Chelebi of Konia.

"Now the Sultans are gone, the sword is in a museum, and people are talking of suppressing the monasteries, disendowing the Dervishes, and disinheriting even the heir of the pious Mevlana Jellal-ed-Din Rumi, an act unthinkable only a few years ago. That such a proposal can be made publicly and in all seriousness is proof, indeed, of how far the Republic has travelled from Pan-Islamism and the Turkish Caliphate."

Turks Close Islamic Convents

A correspondent of the New York *Sun,* (October 24, 1925) writes:

"Twenty thousand monks of Islam driven out by Kemal's drastic step, which is one of the most startling and far-reaching reforms in Turkish life, has gone into effect almost unnoticed by the outside world. The Government's recent decree closes all monasteries in the republic.

"The decree has thrown out into the world some 20,000 Turkish monks and dervishes—mystics of Islam—who are totally unfitted by education or equipment for any other pursuit in life. The summary decree at the same time removed from Turkish life one of its strangest and weirdest classes, the dervishes.

"These dervishes are divided into three categories—'howling,' 'whirling,' and 'whispering.' They live largely on the ignorance and superstition of the Turkish peasants, who believed them to be invested with divine power. By whirling, spinning and howling, these monks worked themselves into an ecstasy of religious fervor and to an insensibility to pain which enabled them to pierce their cheeks with spikes.

"The ceremonies of the whirling dervishes consisted of violent spinning and contortions of the body until the monks reached a state of insensibility and ecstasy which they believed gave them 'union with the divine.'

"The howling dervishes' method was to repeat over and over again the formula, 'There is no God but Allah.' This was chanted to the accompaniment of a reed instrument while the dervishes stood in a circle, each on his right foot. The body and left leg were swayed right and left from side to side, in time with the repetition of the formula and the music. The ultimate effect of the combined chant, rhythm and movement was a kind of trance in which the devotee entered what is called 'The World of Dreams,' where he was conscious only of his 'identity with God.'"

Cape Moslems Help the Riffs

"Cape Moslems, at a meeting in the National Theatre, Cape Town, gave subscriptions amounting to £60 towards a fund to provide medical aid for the Riffs. The meeting had been called as a result of an appeal from Justice Ameer Ali, and the Aga Khan to Moslems throughout the world to help their brother Moslems who were fighting against the French in Morocco.

"Dr. A. Abdurahman was in the chair, and with him on the platform were Mr. H. Camroodien, Mr. J. Lalkhen (Secretary of the Riff Medical Relief Fund), Dr. Gool, Emam Hadjie Hassan, Messrs. H. M. Gool, A. Walli, Hadji, H. J. Japie, Esmait, S. Dawood, Kariem, Bekha, Jaffar, Kara, and Cassim Ali.

"Opening the proceedings the Chairman outlined the initial steps leading to the present situation in Morocco. Into the merits of the dispute he was not prepared to enter, or in fact, did he know or care much about the political aspects. What he was concerned with was that the fighting Moslems were co-religionists with them, and were opposing the French, a mighty military people. He asked them to impress on their minds that the Moslem was a Moslem first, and his nationality was a secondary matter—less than the fact that he was a

brother of every other Moslem the world over. The Christian was first an Englishman, Frenchman or German, and then a Christian.

"The Riffs were in a barren country, mostly desert. The services of medical men were almost unknown, and relief or medical comforts they had only the shadowiest chance of obtaining. It behooved their Moslem brethren to endeavor to supply them generously with whatever was necessary. The Malays were not a rich community, but if each gave according to his ability the total result would be of the greatest service to the wounded Riff Moslems. It was for them, as Cape Moslems, to make some sacrifice, in the name of Allah, to help these people.

"The speaker concluded an eloquent appeal for funds by vividly portraying the agonies that the Riffs must suffer in a life and death struggle with a big military nation with every modern instrument of destruction at its command."—*The Cape Argus (June 15, 1925).*

Conversion of Moslem Chief in Liberia

Writing recently in *The Liberian Churchman,* Bishop Overs said: "The Christian school is the greatest barrier to the advance of Islam. Let me place a Church school within the reach of all tribal children of Liberia, and I am positively certain that it will never become a Mohammedan state. The tribes of Africa are not calling Islam. They are, however, most earnestly calling the Christian Church. This is the Church's supreme opportunity. To be the first on the field with Christian instruction is the surest way to stop the Moslem advance."

During her recent furlough in this country, Miss Mary Wood McKenzie, a teacher in the House of Bethany, our school for girls in Cape Mount, Liberia, received the following letter from a Chief, once a Mohammedan but now a Christian:

Dear Miss McKenzie:

I am moved to write you on a subject which concerns the welfare of the people of my mother's country.

On a visit to my people in that country, I was approached by the Paramount Chief, who is my near relative of my mother, and his people, with a request that I appeal to the mission of our Church for the opening of a school in their section of the Gola Country which is called Senjeh, for the education and Christianization of their children.

They need a boys' and a girls' school separately. As an evidence of their earnesty and anxiety to have this done, they promised faithfully to share the support of said school by feeding the children and opening up a large coffee farm which in years to come will help support it. .....

I promise faithfully to give you all the help that I can and will do all I can to see that my people coöperate with you as they have pledged. The Chief is ready to have the site cleared and houses built, after which he pledges to give as many girls as may be required for the beginning.

Now, my dear friend, this is an opportunity to educate and train African girls in the way they should go, and make them useful women in this our dear country.

I remain, dear Miss McKenzie,

Yours sincerely,
H. Z. KANDAKAI.

The Paramount Chief of whom the writer speaks is a Mohammedan. In a recent number of *The Liberian Churchman,* Kandakai gives an interesting account of his life and conversion, largely through the in-

fluence of the Rev. Nathan Matthews, our missionary at Cape Mount. Mr. Matthews presented the chief, who had learned to read English at the College of Liberia, with a Bible, Hymnal and Prayer Book. After much study he gained courage to openly proclaim his conversion to Christianity, and was confirmed by Bishop Lloyd during the latter's visit to Liberia in 1917. His people disowned him, and for a long time after he embraced Christianity would neither speak to nor eat with him. He was, however, such a prominent man that they forgave him and took him back as they needed his advice.

Kandakai is living now in his native town of Jundu in the hinterland back of Cape Mount. He is so anxious to have our Church begin work there that he has built a dispensary, so as to be ready when a nurse arrives.—*The Spirit of Missions.*

Moslem Burials in England

A fund is being raised to make provision for the proper burial of indigent Moslems dying in this country, in accordance with the rites of Islam. The president of the committee, the Aga Khan, has headed the subscription list with a contribution of £200, and the Chairman, Mr. Ameer Ali, has given 50 guineas.

It is pointed out in the appeal that within recent years large numbers of Moslems have come to this country, more particularly to London. Many of them are in poor circumstances, and when they die, unless their burial is assisted by some more fortunate member of their community, they are buried at the cost of the local board of guardians. In the absence of any Moslem organization or funds for the purpose they have been buried in Christian cemeteries without Moslem rites. This state of things is described as a scandal, reflecting discredit on the followers of Islam, since other communities in and near London, for instance, the Parsees and the Jews, possess an organization and funds for giving a proper burial to the indigent followers of their respective faiths. A plot of ground has been reserved for Moslem burial, and Barclays Bank are acting as trustees of the fund. The honorary treasurer and secretary (who has contributed £100) is Mr. A. S. M. Anik, of Billiter Buildings, Billiter Street, E. C.

In a covering letter to the appeal to prominent Mohammedans in India and elsewhere the Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali write that the absence of provision for the burial of indigent Moslems "must be a cause of sorrow to every follower of our faith who loves Islam."

The Library of Sultan Abdul-Hamid

Few objects of greater interest and value have lately been acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum than the excellent collection of Oriental manuscripts that once formed part of the library of the late Sultan Abdul-Hamid. Only the briefest indication of the rich contents of the Museum share of the collection can be given here, and before the full significance for Oriental studies of this addition to the British Museum Library can be estimated much further investigation will be required.

Half the collection of four hundred manuscripts are in the Persian language, the other half about equally divided between Arabic and

Turkish. The departments of literature most fully represented are history, religion, and poetry; but there is a very welcome sprinkling of works on many less hackneyed subjects, such as archery—represented by a beautiful unique Arabic treatise done for the library of a Mamluk Sultan in A.H. 780. The harnessing and management of horses, and especially the use of the stirrup, are treated in another unique Arabic work composed in the fifteenth century for a certain Sauzar Khusht, and containing a large number of quaint diagrams. The duties of various court functionaries under the Safavi Kings of Persia are related in an elegantly written and bound Persian work. The proportion of very early Arabic works, dating from the tenth to the twelfth century A.D., is unusually large. Two or three merit special mention. One is a unique apocalyptic history of the insurrections in Islam. The contents were received in Egypt in A.H. 280, and the present copy written in Damascus in A.H. 706. Christian writings of this type have lately received much attention. For comparative purposes, therefore, our manuscript will have great interest.

One fine old Arabic codex of the tenth century and another of the thirteenth are palæographically invaluable, since they supply much desired data for fixing the age of manuscripts written in the western or *maghribi* Arabic hand.

It is well known to Orientalists that, owing to the disastrous invasion and subjugation of Persia by the Mongols during the first half of the thirteenth century, the number of extant manuscripts written in Persian before that period is extremely small. One of the finest of the fortunate remnant is to be found among Abdul-Hamid's manuscripts. A unique copy, written in a beautiful old *naskhi* hand in A.D. 1189, it is a collection of very apposite and instructive maxims, mainly by Mohammed, and is in pleasing contrast to the *jejune* sayings and traditions usually attributed to him. The text is in Arabic, with a translation and an elaborate commentary in Persian. The latter will constitute a veritable storehouse of early Persian literary forms, inasmuch as it has not suffered from the modernizing tendencies which have operated so disastrously in Persia as elsewhere.

In the department of poetry the greatest "find" is the unique copy of the Persian and Turkish *divans,* or collected poems of Hakiki, that being the *nom de plume* of Jahan Shah, that redoubtable warrior of the Kara Kunyunlu, or "Black Sheep" dynasty of Turkomans, who ruled parts of Persia during the middle of the fifteenth century. Something was already known of the military exploits of that potentate; but as a poet he has been credited with only some dozen lines in Dawlatshah's lives of Persian poets. A careful study of the two *divans* may throw light on the political events of those stormy days in Persia and Turkey, concerning which too little is known at present, and, furthermore, reveal some features that will relieve the dark picture of Jahan Shah's character drawn by Professor Browne in his "Persian Literature under Tartar Domination." This is an almost contemporary copy, written in an exquisite *nastalik* hand.

A beautifully written small volume of Persian and Arabic legal treatises and extracts, constituting an advocate's handbook, tells the story of its own compilation in various cities of Asia Minor in the thirteenth century. In A.D. 1274, in the midst of the western wave of the

Mongol invasion, the writer is copying into his notebook from manuscripts in the Khatuniyyah Madrasah at Cæsarea, a few years later at Heraklea, and finally at Iconium.

Turkish is also represented by a unique history of the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Ahmad III. (A.D. 1703-1730), composed by Adib Chelebi; an interesting volume of official correspondence referring to the times of Sultan Sulaiman and Sultan Salim (A.D. 1520-1574); and, like the Persian section, a great wealth of *divans* belonging to the middle and modern periods of Ottoman poetry, of which no copies have so far reached the West. It was natural to anticipate a number of first-class miniatured manuscripts in Persian and Turkish, but the hope was not justified. Whether any ever belonged to the collection, or were removed and found a home elsewhere, is not known. Nevertheless, from the point of view of calligraphy, illumination, and bindings, it is an exceptionally artistic collection.—*Condensed from The Times, London.*

Call to the London Missionary Society

The Rev. J. A. Joyce, of Jiaganj, writing in the monthly magazine of his Society makes an appeal to them to share in the great task of evangelizing Moslem India.

"Supposing the idea to be entertained of the Congregational Churches taking up a share in a general advance or a readjustment of their proportional efforts so as to deal justly in the matter, is it at all practicable?

"The Moslem population of the world is close on 235 millions. Of these nearly 69 millions live scattered over India, more than a quarter of the whole. Ten provinces of India have each more than a million. The United Provinces, in which the London Missionary Society is now unhappily retiring from two Districts, holds about six and one-half million Moslems or about half the number in Egypt. The province of Bengal has a Moslem population larger than that of all Arabia, Egypt and Persia put together, viz.: 25,486,124, more than half the population of the Province, which is forty-seven and one-half millions.

"These facts show clearly that the London Missionary Society in facing this question would not have to consider opening up new work in any new field or continent or language area, and would have to establish no new base. Its own Bengal Mission provides plenty of scope to begin with. Its own District of Murshidabad has half its population of 1,330,000 people, Mohammedans.

"In Bengal there are 43,269,814 persons recorded as illiterate in the census. Literate males, 3,914,814; females, 407,831. Literate in English, 778,932; of these literate in English 594,273 are Hindus; and only 131,064 Moslems. This last fact indicates the Moslem neglect of education. The Moslems of Bengal speak Bengali; speakers of Hindi and Urdu number 1,806,000.

"Special preparation is absolutely necessary for effective work and permanent results. You need a different equipment and a separate mind to deal with Mohammedans from the equipment and mind you need in dealing with Hindus. Their whole terminology and religious ideas are mutually exclusive. At Dr. Zwemer's Vellore Conference last July the point was well expressed by our own L. M. S. man, R. A. Hickling:

"'Work among Mohammedans involves special preparation both of missionaries and Indian Christians who undertake it. The attitude of mind needed for effective presentation of the Gospel to Hindus can only be gained by careful preparation, and those who have had this preparation, can only very rarely re-adapt themselves to the absolutely different presuppositions of the Mussulman. Argument, whether open or tacit, is unavoidable in both cases, and the arguments that are of greatest weight in the one case have very small value in the other. Work among Moslems in India means considerable familiarity with their theology, long study of Arabic and Persian, and the use of Urdu as the vernacular. It is simply of no use presenting the Gospel to Mussulmans in the Hindu vernaculars. The terms used simply do not touch them. It is not enough for the missionaries to Hindus to learn Urdu, and I would urgently press for the special appointment of men for this work.' The Bengal Moslem mainly speaks the Bengali vernacular, but with every term of religious value or relating to the intimate social and home life or to legal affairs changed into words derived from Urdu or Arabic, making it really a different language—Mussalmani-Bengali."

New Conditions in Persia

On the last day of October, 1925, Ahmed, Shah of the Kajar dynasty, was deposed as king of Persia by a vote of the Mejliss or parliament. The vote is reported to have been eighty to five in favor of deposing the Shah, who has lived in Paris for the last few years.

The reins of the government passed to the hands of Reza Khan Pahlavi, the Premier, who has been in virtual control of Persian affairs for four years. He now becomes in fact military dictator of the country, and the national assembly is entrusted with the responsibility of determining the permanent form of the government. It remains to be seen whether Reza Khan will himself become Shah, or will seek to institute a republic. Reza Khan rose rapidly from the ranks of a Persian Cossack regiment until he became minister of war after a *coup d'ètat* in February, 1921. In October of the same year he became prime minister as well as minister of war and has had virtual control of the government since that time. He has maintained order in the empire and has brought unity out of the chaos which he confronted in 1921.

BOOK REVIEWS

Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika. By Ernst Ubach and Ernst Rackow. Stuttgart, Ferdinand Enke. pp. 441. 24 gold marks.

This scientific work, prepared in collaboration by a group of German scholars, is volume I of a series of textbooks in comparative ethnology, law and primitive ethics. It is based on personal investigations and interviews with natives of Morocco, Algeria and Tunis, conducted in thorough German fashion, and leaves nothing to be desired. The tribal groups selected include three from Morocco, the Awlad Na'il of Algeria, and three tribes of Tunisia.

We have in every case a detailed description of their family life, dwellings, food, feasts, marriage, birth-customs, inheritance rights, widowhood, funeral-customs, agriculture, civil and criminal law-procedure, music, etc. Most of the facts are taken verbatim from the lips of natives, and their testimony is given, in the Arabic vulgar dialect, in an appendix. The book is fully indexed, but the illustrations are crude. Dr. George Kampffmeyer contributes a special preface, and is responsible for the interpretation of Arabic and Berber words and terms. The reader will find a mass of material on the social life of the people, especially on marriage and the home-life of nomad and city dwellers.

Z.

Shaman, Saiva and Sufi. A study of the Evolution of Malay Magic. By R. O. Winstedt. Constable & Co., London. pp. 191. 12*s*.

Dr. Winstedt has written a number of books on Malaya and its people. This one is the outcome of close study for twenty-two years. The system of Malay Magic, to which Skeat and others have devoted attention, is a tangle of many threads—Animistic, Hindu and Mohammedan. Chapters i.-iv. deal with the Malay's evolution from animist to Moslem; chapters v. and vi. with his animism; chapters vii. and viii. with his shamanism; chapter ix. with rites largely infected with Hindu magic; and chapters x. and xi. with Moslem accretions. The author tells how early Islam came to the Malay Peninsula, and how deeply it has influenced popular superstition.

"A rough granite monolith inscribed with Moslem laws in the Malay language and Arabic lettering, recently discovered in Trengganu, is evidence that Islam had reached the east coast of the Malay Peninsula as early as the fourteenth century. At the beginning of the next century it became the State religion of Malacca. Barbosa ascribed this change of creed from Hinduism to the presence of many Indian Moslem traders at that port. An Achinese account gives 1474 A. D. as the date of the conversion of the first ruler of Kedah to embrace the religion of the Arabian Prophet. The royal house of Malacca gave rulers to

Johore, Pahang and Perak, dominated Selangor and Negri Sembilan, and so spread the new faith throughout the Peninsula.

"The early missionaries came from the Coromandel Coast and Malabar, and therefore made the Malays Sunnis of the school of Shafe'i. Later arrived missionaries from the Hadramaut. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Sayids of the great Hadramaut house, descendants of 'Alawi, grandson of 'Isa al-Mohajir, gained enormous influence at the Perak court, one of them marrying a sister of Perak's most famous ruler and becoming the father of a Sultan of that State.

"The Malays of the Peninsula have been Moslems for some five hundred years. No zealots, they are orthodox and convinced believers. But in their beliefs and their magic the influence of the early Indian missionaries of their latest faith is marked.

"There is a book called the 'Crown of Kings,' of which several editions have been printed in Egypt and at Mecca. It is on sale at most native bookshops in the Peninsula. Its author was an Achinese, prominent in the war against the Dutch, Shaikh 'Abbas, who died in 1895."

Altogether the volume is a new contribution to a fascinating subject, although it cannot supersede the standard work of W. W. Skeat. Z.

Hespéris. *Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institute des Hautes-Études Marocaines.* Tome iv, No. 3. Emile Larose. Paris.

We are glad to call attention to this new quarterly review devoted to the study of the land and the peoples of Morocco. This number is beautifully illustrated, has excellent new maps, book reviews and notes. The contents include: H. de Castries, *Les sept patrons de Merrakech;* E. F. Gautier, *Un passage d'Ibn Khaldun et du Bayan;* and R. Montagne, *Le régime juridique des tribus du Sud Marocain.* Z.

La Mecque à la Veille de l'Hégire. By P. H. Lammens, S. J. Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth. Tome ix, fasc. 3.

Père Lammens is one of the most learned and original among the investigators of the early history of Islam, and his monographs have a tendency to be epoch-making. His work on Mecca exhibits his usual thoroughness, but the subject is of great difficulty, since the Koran does not say much about its native city, and there is no other contemporary authority. From the Koran we learn that it was a sanctuary, and we seem to learn—for the passage is obscure—that it was a starting-place for caravans. The Koran would clearly make the trade dependent on the sanctuary; M. Lammens, who is followed or at any rate supported by some others, regards the place as originally a halting station on the trade-route to India, which developed into a sanctuary. When, however, he enumerates the goods exported from Mecca, they are not Indian products, but Arabian products.

There is a curious difference between the impression left by the final chapter of this work and the earlier chapters. From the earlier chapters we should fancy Mecca was a sort of Lombard Street, consisting of banks and offices of joint stock companies; thus Khadija *dirigeait une grosse maison de commerce et de banque.* The sums involved in their transactions were considerable; if coin was scarce, bullion abounded. If the houses were somewhat primitive, the furniture which they contained was luxurious. In the final chapter it is admitted that the sources

whence information of this sort is obtained are likely to have been influenced by the great cities which arose in the Islamic empire, whose conditions were projected back into pre-Islamic Mecca. Perhaps then Khadija's *maison de commerce et de banque* was not really *grosse*. Yet even in the final chapter, which is in a way a key to the others, Mecca is represented as having become *la première cité* of Western Arabia at the end of the sixth century A. D.

The material which M. Lammens has put together with so much care is certainly of value, whatever view may be taken of the deductions. Many a question of interest is started, and references are given which will or may aid the solution. The economic doctrine that mechanical traction has reduced profit by decupling the cost of transport will scarcely find general acceptance. If this were so, how could the railway have ever displaced the beast of burden? D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

Abu Amaithal Al-Arabi—Kitab al Ma'thur. Das Buch der Wörter mit gleichem Laut und verschiedener Bedeutung. F. Krenkow. pp. 106. London. A. Probsthain.

Printed at the Catholic Press, Beirut, through the assistance of P. Cheikho and P. Salhani, this important contribution to Arabic philology does credit to editor and printer. The Arabic author lived in Khorasan, and died 240 A. H. His work is therefore one of the oldest we possess on lexicography. The manuscript was discovered by O. Rescher in Constantinople, and dated 280 A. H., one of the oldest Arabic manuscripts extant. Facsimile pages are given, and in addition to the vowelled Arabic text we have critical notes, an index to the poets, the place, names and the grammarians cited in the original, and a word index. The latter is essential as the original text catalogues "the words of similar sound but diverse significance" without any order whatsoever.

Z.

Das Gesetz der Wüstenbildung in gegenwart and Vorzeit von Johannes Walther. 4th edition revised. pp. 420. Quelle und Meyer, Leipzig. 16 gold marks.

This scientific monograph on the desert, its geologic formation, its present-day conditions and phenomena, by the Professor of Geology and Paleontology of Halle University, deserves the notice of our readers only because it gives such a lively and accurate picture of the environment in which Islam arose and borrowed its spirit.

Although full of technical terminology, the book is as fascinating as a novel. It is profusely illustrated, and after each chapter a special bibliography beckons the reader to further study. The author has visited not only the Egyptian deserts, but those of Central Asia and Australia, and draws his conclusions from long and careful study. "The Garden of Allah" has its awful mystery and terror, but also its own poetry and appeal.

Z.

Het Boek der Duizend Vragen. Academisch Proefschrift ter verkrijging van den graad van Doctor in de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, door Guillaume Frederic Pijper (Boekhandel en Drukkerij voorh. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1924). pp. 90, plus 131. Malay text.

Dr. Pijper is one of the young Orientalists who has given instruction at the Union Missionary School in the Netherlands for some years.

A pupil of Dr. Hurgronje and Dr. Wensinck, his work reflects honor on Leiden University. "The Book of 1,000 questions" has received earlier attention. Dr. H. Hirschfeld wrote in the *Jewish Quarterly,* (volume x, page 112) "the imagination displayed by the writer of this little volume recalls the most extravagant of reveries of the Arabian Nights or the wildest fancies of some portions of the Koran itself." The earliest acquaintance with this Arabic work in the West is from a Latin translation made at Toledo in 1142. The earliest mention of it in Arabic literature is in the year 963 A. D. There are many manuscripts of the Arabic Text, and translations in Latin, Portuguese, Dutch, Turkish, Persian, Hindustani, Malay and Javanese. So many differences, however, occur in the text and in these translations, that Dr. Pijper has thought it worth while to make an entirely new study of the textual variants, giving these as found in the Malay manuscripts. In the introduction to the text itself, we have a glimpse of the influence of this book in medieval times in Europe, as well as a sketch of the history of the earliest translations. The so-called "Thousand Questions" are traced back to a tradition, which appears to be authentic, that a certain Jew called Abd Allah Ibn Salam met Mohammed at Medina, and tested his prophetship by a series of difficult questions, which being answered, much to his astonishment, he then and there embraced Islam. History and legend have become strangely mixed in the subsequent growth of this early tradition. In chapter 2, our author deals with the Arabic text in its twofold form, and concludes from internal evidence that it was written in Persia about the date mentioned. The various questions put to Mohammed can be divided into three categories: First, those that deal with cosmogony and eschatology. Second, questions regarding the future Moslem Paradise and Punishment. Third, questions of natural history and the problems of creation. One regrets that after so scholarly an introduction, the author did not think it worth while to give a translation of the Malay text. The latter is copiously supplied with notes, but the book has no index. Z.

Kleinasiatische Reise. By C. I. Burckhardt. Bremer Presse. München. 1925. pp. 77.

An interesting account of the travels of Mr. Burckhardt, in company with some Turkish officers, to Brussia, Es Keshir, Cæsaria, Talas Adana, Konja and Smyrna, with only a very brief account of his visit to the Bectashi Order and to the Dervishes. We regret that the author did not give us more facts in regard to the present state of affairs in the Turkey of today. SIMON.

Musliheddin Sa'di. Der Rosengarten. München, Hyperionverlag, 1925. pp. 313.

This is a reprint of the translation by K. H. Graf of the year 1846. The Gulistan (=Rosengarten) by Sa'dî (1184-1291) has been translated repeatedly into German, first by A. Olearius in 1654. All this proves it to be a jewel of Persian poetry. The book includes eight pieces of poetry concerning different scenes of human life, illustrative of Moslem philosophy and religion. The second part shows how the inclination to mysticism is opposed to justification by works and to worldliness in religious life. The fifth part, about love and youth, is significant of

the questionable tone of Persian morals. It contains rather commonplace moral instructions, but the way this advice is given is nevertheless very original and witty. SIMON.

Die Religionen. By Edv. Lehmann, D.D. Professor of the History of Religions at the University of Lund. Kurzgefasste Religionsgeschichte, Leipzig. 1924. Dürr. pp. 128. M. 3.

A most interesting but brief history of the various religions of the world. The work was published in the "Pädagogischen Literaturgesellschaft; Neue Bahnen," and is intended for teachers of comparative religions. It is a remarkably clear treatment of the subject under consideration. SIMON.

Eine Islamische Apokalypse aus der Kreuzzugszeit. Ein Beitrag zur Djafr-literature. pp. 28. Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, Berlin. 1924.

This prophecy of the last day which was written in the year 1166, and has now been translated, is still believed today in the Orient—namely, that Jesus will reappear at the white minaret in Damascus and conquer the Anti-christ, and afterwards will die, and be buried by the side of the Prophet at Medina. *Djafr*-literature is the title given to the prophetic books on the last day. SIMON.

Rund um die Erde. By E. Büchler. R. Voigtländer, Leipzig, 1925. pp. 267. M. 8.

An account of a trip around the world. The author, who is a Swiss, gives a number of interesting personal experiences as well as the history and religions of the different nations visited, but the reference to Islam is very brief. SIMON.

Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts. By Dr. Altaner. pp. 248. Frankes Buchhandlung Habelschwerdt (Schlesien) 1925. M. 10.

This essay describes the attempts of the Dominican Order of Monks to do missionary work among the Moslems of North Africa, Egypt and the Near East. Their efforts met with small success, although William of Tripoli is reported to have converted one thousand Moslems by his preaching. The Monks took up the study of Arabic in special philological colleges. They were supported by the popes, who forwarded letters of recommendation to the Sultans, but without meeting with their approval. SIMON.

The Gateway of Palestine. A history of Jaffa. By S. Tolkowsky. Geo. Routledge & Sons, Ltd. pp. 190. 10/6.

In this short volume we travel from 4000 B. C. to 1924 A. D. Nearly six thousand years of history can scarcely be dealt with in any adequate way in so small a book, but the author has succeeded in giving us a very readable and interesting account of one of the oldest towns in the world. To those who have visited Palestine, and have wandered through the orange groves when the air is heavily scented, and the trees a blaze of color, this book will be enjoyable. The view from the top of the hill, with the dazzling blue Mediterranean on the one side, and the miles of trees and gardens on the other, is one of the prettiest in Palestine. The only disappointing feature is the complete absence of ancient monuments. The landmarks of powerful

civilizations, for which Jaffa once stood, have entirely disappeared, and today it is one of the most modern towns in all Palestine. Ancient Pharaohs captured and fortified what they termed the "Beauty of the Seas." Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians laid siege to its walls, with varying success. Greeks and Romans fought their battles on the plains around it. Arabs and Crusaders alternately sacked and rebuilt it. Even in Turkish days it was the scene of conflicts that changed dynasties, and Napoleon crowned its sufferings by the sack of the town, and the massacre in cold blood of 4,000 prisoners of war. Jaffa has been the center of more conflicts and strife than most cities in the world.

The writer of the book is obviously a Jew, and he is justly proud of the achievement of his Zionist colleagues in Tel Aviv, a suburb of Jaffa. He tells us that this Colony is the only town in the world with a purely Jewish administration. Its mayor, councillors, and even the boys who sweep the streets, are all Jews. An interesting appendix gives statistics of trade increase, all proving how rapidly Jaffa and its suburb, Tel Aviv, are rapidly becoming one of the great commercial centers of the country. W. Wilson Cash.

Spiritual and Political Revolution in Islam. By Felix Vályi. Kegan Paul. Treneh, Trubner and Co., London, 1925. 236 pp. Price 7/6.

This book is a discussion of the Nationalist Movement in Turkey and Egypt, under three headings: the Revolution in Turkey, the Problem of Egypt, Russia in Asia Minor. These movements, the author believes, are at heart moral and spiritual, and their profound beauty has heretofore not been understood by Europe.

The author's review of political developments in Egypt and Turkey is interesting. But his conclusions would have been more convincing if his discussion had been less partisan in its point of view. The author's pro-Islamic and especially pro-Turkish bias is evident throughout. Islam is idealized as the most tolerant and adaptable and progressive of religions and its history is read in the light of this prepossession. Many questions will thus be raised in the minds of readers familiar with Islam and its peoples, even though they find themselves in deepest sympathy with the author's desire to promote intelligent understanding between East and West.

The book expresses a hopeful view of the future development of Islam and Islamic peoples, on condition that they accept the leadership of Turkey and that Islam be freed from "sterile scholasticism and the archaic formulæ of her intellectual life," p. 66. Islam has within itself such powers of adaptability and assimilation, and the Koran, as all Orientalists of standing agree (says the author) "nowhere forbids the reorganization of the political institutions of Islam," p. 148. The principle of "Idjma" will effect the adaptation of Moslem institutions to modern political science. It may be questioned, however, whether the author has correctly indicated the working of the principle of "Idjma" when he defines it as "the consent of the majority of the Moslems to any new proposal," p. 58, and expresses his conviction that by virtue of this principle "the decision has already been made to confer upon Angora the right to direct the reformation of Musulman institutions and to interpret the Caliphate in accordance with the new social and spiritual aspirations of Islam," p. 74. C. C. Adams.

The Treatise of Al-Jazari on Automata. Leaves from a Manuscript of the Kitab fi Ma'arifat al-Hiyal al-Handasiya in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and elsewhere. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. (Lond.), Keeper of Indian and Mohammedan Art in the Museum. Folio pp. 19, with 8 plates. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1924.

The Museum of Fine Arts possesses six leaves of the well-known Arabic manuscript by Al-Jazari, written about the year 1206 A. D. After describing the scattered leaves of the manuscript, the author gives a detailed description of the eight plates, together with a translation and bibliography.

"We infer that al-Jazari was first and foremost a craftsman, and only secondarily an author. The intelligibility of his writing and the clarity of the diagrams are to be explained by his practical knowledge of the contrivances described. He states that he himself invented the reversible cup and many other devices. That his labors were greatly appreciated is shown not only by the patronage of three Ummeyad Sultans but by the fact that many copies of his treatise were made in the several centuries following its completion, and that translations exist in Persian and Turkish.

With Lawrence in Arabia. By Lowell Thomas. 408 pp., with illustrations. Price $4. The Century Company, 1924.

This is an interesting and decidedly informing story of a very unique personality, such an one as is not infrequently produced by Great Britain through its contacts with various people and races with whom it has developed responsible relations. It is a story that leaves with the reader a somewhat satisfied feeling in the matter of interracial and interreligious relationships, when the representative of the white race and of the Christian religion plays his part in a manly and straightforward way.

The hero of the story is Colonel Thomas E. Lawrence, an "Archæologist turned Soldier," and a "Modern Arabian Knight." The story is told in a decidedly interesting manner, by one who has been on the faculty of a well-known American university.

The story gathers about the successful effort of the Arabs, particularly of the Western part of the Arabian peninsula, known as the Hedjaz, to expel from their territory the Turks, taking advantage of the Great War as a favorable opportunity. Colonel Lawrence was the agent of the Allies who did most to promote this desire, and organize it into effective activity. With an experience chiefly associated with scholarship at Oxford and a somewhat diminutive physical equipment, Lawrence developed a military strategy and a leadership that brought to him the opportunity of high military and decorative titles, which he did much to escape.

The chapters in the book wihch will most interest the thoughtful reader are those which relate to the Cult of the Blood of Mohammed, the Fall of Jeddah, and Mecca, the Gathering of the Desert Tribes, the Capture of King Solomon's ancient Seaport, Akaba, the Downfall of the Ottoman Empire, the Knights of the Black Tents, and the Art of handling Arabs. One completes a perusal of this book with a clearer understanding of the character of the Arabs in the Desert, their relations to each other and to the outside world.

The readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD will be interested to know that Col. Lawrence seemed proud of being a Christian, and that his eulogist claims for him that he "broke the road for his religion." This statement is somewhat confirmed by the fact that Col. Lawrence

counted among his ancestors the great Christian heroes of India, the brothers, Henry and John Lawrence, and that one of his brothers is now a medical missionary in China, while another has been a schoolmaster in India. W. I. CHAMBERLAIN.

Vanished Cities of Arabia. By Mrs. Steuart Erskine, Hutchinson, London. 324 pp. Price 25s net.

Last year we reviewed the book "Petra," by Mr. A. Forder. This new volume eclipses its predecessor not only in size, but in every other way. It deals, however, with the past, and offers scarcely a glimpse of the Arabia of the desert today. Profusely illustrated and written in an attractive style, the book gives a graphic description of the wonderful rock city of Petra; of Gerash, the Roman city of the Greek Decapolis, with its temple second only to Baalbec in importance, and its unrivalled street of columns; of Amman, the ancient Philadelphia; of the Crusaders' Castle of Kerak and other places of interest. Petra and Gerash have been photographed, and colored blocks have been made from these photographs, but hitherto no illustrations have been made from paintings made on the spot. The book sets forth the artistic, archæological and human interest of the ruins of past civilizations.

The Road to Timbuktu. Lady Dorothy Mills. Small, Maynard & Company, Boston. Pp. 262.

In the preface to this story of the winter's journey from Dakar to Timbuktu she intimates that she has given a very superficial study of the country through which she passed. "I spent three months in the A. O. F. (Afrique Occidental Française) traveling as fast as local conditions would permit. Obviously my knowledge cannot be profound. Hard-bitten travelers doubtless will say that much of what I have written is, to use the vernacular, 'unmitigated rot'!"

The impressions she had on this journey by rail to Bamako and then by river tug on the Niger to the post of Timbuktu are told in a captivating manner. One wonders that a foreign lady unacquainted with the native languages and in so brief a time was able to learn so many things that touch the personal life, practices and superstitions of these peoples of French Africa. The chapter on the Touaregs is full of much that is interesting.

The picture of the moral conditions in Timbuktu is not a bright one. "Though for seven centuries Islam has held its own in Timbuktu, many of the poorer people are monogamous, more for economic reasons than from inclination, but the wealthy men have as many wives, regular and irregular, as their religion allows and their income will run to. Divorce is a luxury only permitted to the well-to-do, as a man who divorces his wife has to refund her dowry. Morals, as a rule, are regrettably lax, and a native of Timbuktu told me, with a jovial grin, that, whatever the number of a woman's children, not more than two of them at most knew their own father." E. E. ELDER.

Wit and Wisdom of India. A collection of humorous folk-tales of the court and countryside current in India. By Pandit Shyama Shankar, M.A. (London). Pp. 192. Price £-/3/6-. George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London, Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, E. C., 1924.

Is it the ethnological lexicon alone that gives us the desired insight into the heart and soul of a people? * * * Surely not! * * * Those

charming little stories about themselves that go from mouth to mouth among the natives, they tell us how they really live and love and suffer...

Z.

Mysteries of the Libyan Desert: A record of three years of exploration. By W. J. Harding King, F.R.G.S. Seeley, Service and Company, London. pp. 348 with 49 illustrations and 3 maps. 1925. Price 2/ shillings.

Scarcely any part of the earth's surface is so little known as the immense Libyan Desert, comprising nearly one million square miles. The explorations described in this volume were carried on in the years 1909-1912. Before that time several expeditions had set out from Egypt, but the only one which had crossed the Senussi frontier was that headed by Rohlfs in 1874. The comparatively recent journeys made by Mrs. Forbes and Hassanein Bey to "the lost oases" have aroused fresh interest in the efforts to penetrate the vast stretches of sand dunes and rocky country which extend beyond the western frontier of Egypt.

The population of this region is exceedingly small and is located for the most part in the Kharga and Daqhla oases. So in one sense, from the missionary point of view the field is almost negligible. But for a special reason it has strategic and vital importance. The Senussia, which as Mr. Harding King points out, are not a single Arab tribe, but a dervish order widely extended throughout North Africa, have concentrated in this region because of its very inaccessibility. Fanatical devotion to Islam is perhaps not so marked a characteristic of the Senussia as hatred of foreign influence and desire to repel every European encroachment.

The author is a barrister, but has devoted so much time to geographical and kindred scientific studies that he has become highly qualified in research and exploration. In 1919 he was awarded the Gill Memorial by the Royal Geographical Society. Previous to 1909 he made several expeditions into the Western Sahara. He has ascertained and carefully studied the various and complex principles of the many dervish orders of North Africa. Such paragraphs as those on pp. 132, 134 give most useful information to every student of the Moslem mystic brotherhoods.

The book contains much practical desert lore which makes entertaining reading. Instances are given, as on page 85, of the keen eyesight of the Bedouin. An interesting experiment with palm doves is described, for computing the location of an almost unknown oasis. On pages 93 and 94 the experience of a sand storm in the open desert is narrated. The results of the author's tests indicate that sand blown off the dunes carries a fairly high charge of positive electricity. Instances are given of the extraordinary sense of direction which years of travel in the desert have produced in the Arabs.

The author implies that he has made a thorough study of Arabic, but either he or the printer has been careless in rendering the word for "come" as *tahl* and that for "robbers" as *haramin*.

At first one is inclined to doubt that the influence of the Senussia is so mysterious and powerful. But proof is given that deep intrigue was at work to ruin the author's effort to penetrate to Owanat.

An account is given of many primitive social customs found in the oases. See pages 248-279. Appendix I is on the Geography and Winds of the Libyan Desert. Appendix II is a classification of insects col-

lected. Appendix III is on the rock inscriptions of the *wasms* and other signs of tribes.

The extremely low moral conditions of the oases communities are an evidence of what Islam produces when out of all contact with Christian influence. Certainly the appeal to be made to these tribes under Senussi influence will be that of the mystical life in Christ.

S. V. R. TROWBRIDGE.

The Vast Sudan. By Major A. R. Dugmore. 312 pages. Arrowsmith, London, 1924.

This is a vivid account of a journey made by the author through the Sudan. His object was to take cinematograph films illustrating the Sudan today. The story told is much more than that of a trip through an interesting country. It is the picture of a regenerated land, saved from barbarism and cruelty, and lifted into new life by the wise administration of British officials. It is rightly contended that in the Sudan we see British rule at its very best. For some reason, perhaps known to the heads of the Government, the Sudan has for nearly a generation attracted to its service the finest type of British manhood. Something in the Sudanese draws out the best an Englishman has to give, and the bond between white and black is far stronger than any official ties. The Sudanese accepts gladly the white man's rule, because he knows from experience that it is not an exploitation by foreigners—but the development of a once devastated country in the best interests of the natives themselves. "In no country," says the writer, "I have ever visited have I seen a more perfect relationship between the white man and the black than that which exists in the Sudan."

The book gives us many sidelights on changing Africa; for example, we are told of a new road which has been opened between Kenya Colony and Mongalla, thus making it a journey of only forty hours from Mombasa to the Sudan. A few trade figures are given which throw an interesting light on future problems. Kordofan is the centre of the gum trade; it is very sparsely populated, yet for the gum collected last year over two million pounds were paid to the natives. This alone means change and development. Fortunately alongside of this trade increase there is growing up an educational system that will do much to help the natives in these changed conditions.

The building of the Makwar Dam, on the Blue Nile, is graphically described. It is a wonderful engineering feat, which will literally make the desert blossom as the rose. Through a system of canals 300,000 acres of land will be used for cultivating cotton. A new railway to Kassala has been opened, and again a great tract of cotton land brought into direct touch with a port.

So rapid are these changes, the population has not kept pace with the demands for labor. This problem in a measure is being met in a curious way. Natives from West Africa have trekked across the vast continent to the Sudan, on their way to Mecca on pilgrimage. Here, for lack of funds, thousands of them have been stranded, and have found a home and a living in the Sudan. They are to be seen today in Kordofan, working on the gum industry, on the cotton fields of the Gezerih, and at the docks at Khartoum.

The descriptions of animal and bird life are very fascinating, and the

illustrations in the book are superb. Anyone who wishes to understand why the British Government will not yield to the Egyptian demands, and hand over the Sudan to the Sons of Pharaoh, should read this book. Critics of British foreign policy among the child races of Africa will find much food for thought in this book which, without exaggeration, tells in simple language the story of a great and noble work carried out by the British officials, under trying climatic conditions, for a new, liberated, and enlightened Sudan. W. Wilson Cash.

Amurath to Amurath. By Gertrude Lowthian Bell. 2d Edition. 370 pages. Macmillan. 21s.

The fact that this book, published originally in 1911, has come out in a second edition in 1924, is a testimony to the permanent value of its record of travel. It tells the story of five months' journeys from February to June, 1909; not long after the proclamation of the Turkish republic. The repercussions of political events at Stamboul were felt in the outlying provinces of the Turkish Empire and they are reflected in the various figures that pass across the stage of the narrative, as the authoress fearlessly rides from scene to scene of ancient history, helped by Turkish officials, British consuls, and German explorers, but most of all by her knowledge of the people and their tongue, and her own mother-wit. The journey starts from Aleppo across the Syrian desert to Jerablou (Carchcruish) on the Euphrates; then follows southeastward the course of the great river to Museyib, where it crosses to Bagdad on the Tigris and turns northwestward up that river to its head waters in the Assyrian upland; once more crossing the Euphrates west to Kaisarie, then to Konia (Iconium) on the Bagdad railway. But the chief interest of the writer and the book is in the historical monuments of past empires—pagan, Christian and Moslem—all along this route. The illustrations are lavish and excellent and full particulars are given of several noteworthy ruins, hitherto little explored. If this interesting book makes one realize the looseness of the Turkish hold on Iraq before the war, it also helps one to visualize the condition of one of the most ancient cradles of civilization, and to pray that its present connection with Britain may result in the birth of a new spirit in the recovery of something of its ancient glories. H. U. W. S.

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick's Book "The Modern Use of the Bible." A Review. By I. M. Haldeman, D.D. Sunday School Times Company, Philadelphia. $1.00.

This little book points out the danger of Modernism in its interpretation of the Scriptures. The author claims that the result of such interpretation is "A Christ whose history has been largely invented, whose supreme claims are fiction, whose miracles were never performed; a Bible contradicted by science, unreliable in history, not always moral, and whose shifting thought-forms, whose uncertain framework, make it of avail only as it can be proven by personal experience." Well worth reading. Z.

An Outline of the Religion of Islam. By H. U. Weitbrecht Station, Ph.D., D.D. pp. 51. Missionary Equipment and Literature Supply, London, 1925. Price one shilling.

This little book should prove especially useful to leaders of Mission

Study Classes and beginners in the study of Islam, as it gives a short sketch of the main features, and contains a good, although very brief, bibliography for those who wish to study the subject further. Dr. Stanton was a missionary in India for many years, and is well known to the readers of this Quarterly. J. C. C.

An Educational Ambassador to the Near East. By Hester Donaldson Jenkins, Ph.D. The Story of Mary Mills Patrick and an American College in the Orient. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 1925. pp. 314. Price $2.50. Illustrated.

The writer of this intensely interesting biography is happy in the selection of the sub-title. By changing one word it would read, "The story of Mary Mills Patrick *is* an American College in the Orient," to which might be added, and "it is a manifestation of her vision and thought."

It is not too much to say after reading this book that probably no woman of her time has done more constructive work for her sex than Dr. Patrick. Certainly not in the Near East. To quote from the text, "As a great educator and organizer, an ardent lover of internationalism and a devoted worker for peace among the nations, she ranks with those great colleagues of hers, Daniel Bliss, Howard Sweetzer Bliss, the first two Presidents of the American University at Beirut, and Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn, founder and organizer of Robert College."

When, in 1922, Dr. Patrick received from Columbia University the degree of Litt. D., Dr. Butler spoke of her as having "done a man's work with a woman's heart."

This book is a worthy account of a great woman, and should be read by all who desire that the women of the Orient share the advantages womanhood enjoys in other countries. It is illustrated, and has an ample index. M. C. Holmes.

A Condensed Dictionary, English-Turkish, Pronouncing and Explanatory, Including Current Historical and Geographical Names. By Commander A. Vahid Bey, Turkish Navy. Officially adopted by the Commissariat for Public Instruction of the Turkish Republic. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York. 1924. pp. 720. Price $8.50.

It is in keeping with the new spirit in Turkey that there should be evidence, now and then, of the result of the quiet treading of the ways of peace on the part of some, one of which is the issuance of this important lexicon. Commander Vahid Bey has been a journalist, a member of an Embassy in Europe, a Commander in his country's navy, but more than all he has been a student. Speaking English, French, German and Turkish with equal facility, and obviously with a knowledge of Arabic and Persian, there are few better fitted to give to the world of letters a dictionary of the first rank. This he has done with a clearness and erudition which makes its use a delight. His choice of words, with all necessary meanings and synonyms, the accurate pronunciation of English, together with the Turkish equivalent in script and transliteration, make the work invaluable to students. It is hoped that Commander Vahid Bey will now turn his scholarship in the direction of a Turkish-English dictionary, which is as greatly needed as the one reviewed.

Mary Caroline Holmes.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Miss Hollis W. Hering, New York
Missionary Research Library.

I. GENERAL.

The American Task in Persia. Finance Administrators in the Land of the Shah. A. C. Millspaugh. (In *The Century Magazine,* New York, October, 1925, pp. 668-678).

Deals with the difficulties and possibilities of Persia's national development; written with strong faith in the country and her future, provided "The Powers" will keep their hands off.

Les Difficultés de l'Egypte Nouvelle. René Thierry. (In *L'Afrique Française,* Paris, September, 1925, pp. 423-431.)

A survey of present-day Egypt under the three major divisions: Home affairs; the question of the Sudan; and foreign relations. Author is convinced that Egypt has demonstrated in all three departments her inability to cope with modern political life and the complete independence she so ardently desires.

My Impressions of a Tour in Iraq. The Right Hon. Lord Thomson. (In the *Journal of the Central Asian Society,* London, vol. XII, pt. 3, 1925, pp. 207-225.)

Impressions of the country, the races inhabiting it, the future relations of Great Britain to it, and the work of the Air Force there, received during an official tour while author was Air Minister.

One Persian Friday. Thomas Pearson. (In *The Atlantic Monthly,* Boston, September, 1925, pp. 375-379.)

A delightful whimsical little sketch in which a member of the American Financial Commission attempts to answer the ever-recurring question of commiserating friends: "What on earth do you do to pass the time out there?"

The Turkish State of Mind. Arnold J. Toynbee. (In *The Atlantic Monthly,* Boston, October, 1925, pp. 548-560.)

Endeavors to show how, instead of grafting Western political concepts on the traditional Ottoman psychology, as has been tried heretofore, the present upheaval points to a fundamentally revolu-

tionary state of mind of the Turks, involving a Westernization of their entire conception of the uinverse.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

IV. KORAN TRADITIONS THEOLOGY.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

AL AZHAR UNIVERSITY. Pierre Arminjon and Pierre Crabitès (In *The Nineteenth Century,* London, October, 1925, pp. 540-549.)

A sketch of the history and present condition of the University, suggesting that since the great problem of the East centers on education, the very fossilized character of Al Azhar teaching is resulting in the formation of a dangerous mine, liable to explode under the pressure of dissatisfaction of the well-trained minds of the teachers.

ISLAM AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE MUSULMAN. Pont. Min. (In *The Fortnightly Review,* London, September, 1925, pp. 412-419.)

A very full and appreciative review of André Servier's book by this name.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

ARAB VERSUS JEW IN THE NEW PALESTINE. 1. From the Arab standpoint. Isaac M. Husseini. 2. From the Zionist standpoint. Conrad Stein. (In *Current History,* New York. September, 1925, pp. 948-958.)

The two sides of the controversy, written respectively by a Palestinian Arab intellectual (graduate student at the American University of Cairo); and a prominent official of the World Zionist Organization (a graduate of Oxford University and a member of the British Bar.)

THE FRENCH IN SYRIA. H. Charles Woods. (In *The Fortnightly Review,* London, October, 1925, pp. 487-498.)

After a brief explanation of developments since the French took over the mandate, outlines the present political and administrative situation, with a summary of the general attitude of the people in the area.

THE RIFF QUESTION. A. S. Moss Blundell. (In *The Nineteenth Century,* London, September, 1925, pp. 404-408.)

An analysis of why the fighting in the Riff. A good apologia for the Moslem Riffi.

TRANSJORDAN TODAY. H. Charles Woods. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London, September, 1925, pp. 313-321.)

Shows the importance of the country of itself and in relation to Palestine, and points out some of the present difficulties in administering it.

VII. MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS.

THE BREAK-UP OF ISLAM. A. M. Chirgwin. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London, August, 1925, pp. 187-193.)

Shows the hitherto-unequalled accessibility of the Moslem world in the political, social and cultural, and, above all, religious spheres; and points out the tremendous importance of a fresh orientation of Christian missionary forces.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN NIGERIA. J. F. J. Fitzpatrick. (In *The Nineteenth Century,* London, October, 1925, pp. 550-559.)

Friendly observations and suggestions to Christian missionaries given in the light of nearly twenty years of experience as a political officer in Nigeria. Written as a protest, in a spirit of fair play, against the incalculable advantages given by Government to the Mohammedan missionaries in Nigeria.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM IN AFRICA. Orishatukeh Faduma. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. November, 1925, pp. 865-868.)

The reaction of a native African to the thesis that Christianity is the "white man's religion" and Islam the religion for the African. Holds that the problem of Christianity in Africa is not one of precept but one of practice.

HEALING IN PERSIA. Lucy S. Molony. (In *Conquest by Healing,* London, September, 1925, pp. 75-77.)

Sketches of the medical work of the Church Missionary Society among women at Yezd, Persia.

A SURVEY OF ISLAM IN SOUTH AFRICA. S. M. Zwemer. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. October, 1925, pp. 560-571.)

A study to answer the questions: How did Islam reach Cape Town? How far does it extend? What is its character, and what is its influence in South Africa today?

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MOHAMMEDAN WORLD
128 Total population of area, in hundreds of thousands
117 Mohammedans in area, in hundreds of thousands

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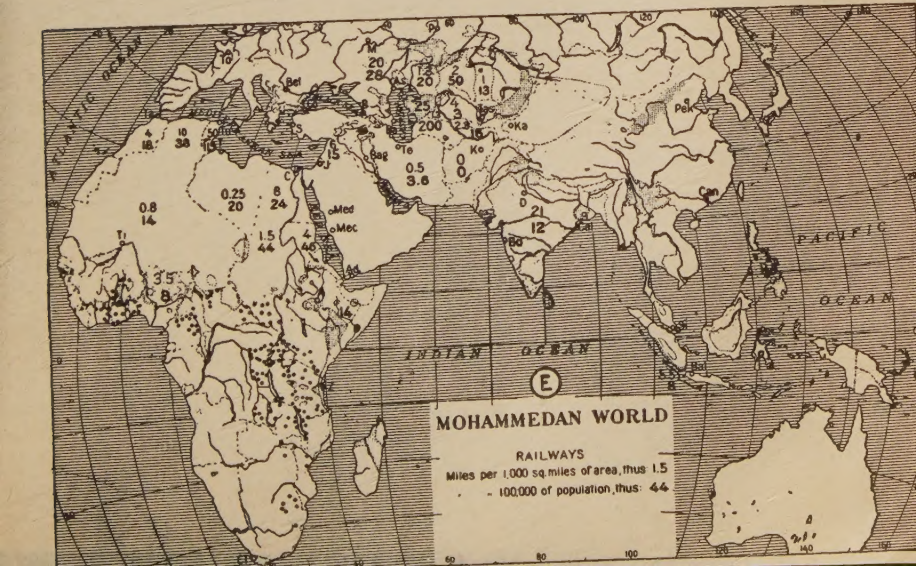
MOHAMMEDAN WORLD
INTERIOR BASIN DRAINAGE
represents drainage which does not reach the sea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MOHAMMEDAN WORLD
RAILWAYS
Miles per 1,000 sq. miles of area, thus 1.5
" " 100,000 of population, thus: 44

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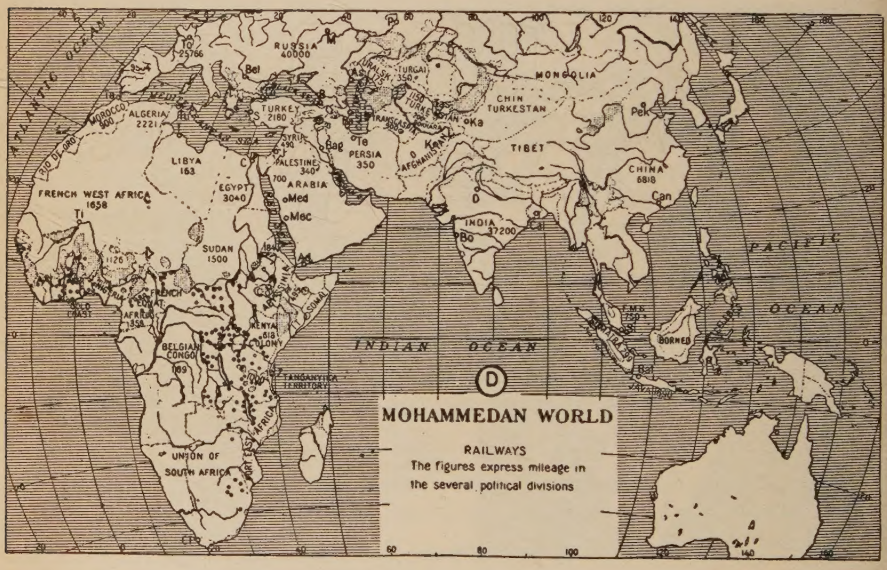
MOHAMMEDAN WORLD
RAINFALL
represents a mean annual rainfall of 10 inches or less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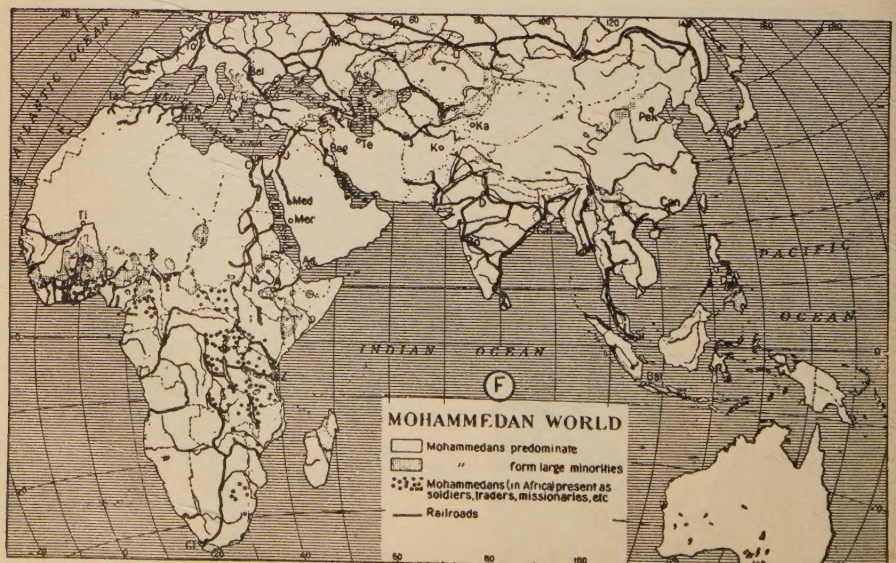
CHIN TURKESTAN
TIBET
CHINA 6818
INDIA 27200
PERSIA 350
TURKEY 7180
ARABIA
LIBYA 183
EGYPT 3040
SUDAN 1500
FRENCH WEST AFRICA 1658
MOROCCO 1200
ALGERIA 2221
BELGIAN CONGO
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
TANGANYIKA TERRITORY
BORNEO
JAVA 1800
D
MOHAMMEDAN WORLD
RAILWAYS
The figures express mileage in the several political divisions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MOHAMMEDAN WORLD
Mohammedans predominate
" form large minorities
Mohammedans (in Africa) present as soldiers, traders, missionaries, etc
Railroads